

An Ethos Theory of Party Positions on European Integration:
Poland and Beyond

Madalena Pontes Meyer Resende

London School of Economics and Political Science
University of London

2005

Contents

CHAPTER I THE WIDER SETTING	6
RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	8
CHAPTER OUTLINE	9
CONCEPTIONS OF PARTIES	10
THE POLICY-SEEKING TRADITION	10
THE OFFICE-SEEKING TRADITION	18
THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE DETERMINATION OF PARTIES' EUROPEAN ATTITUDES	22
CONCLUSION	26
CHAPTER II THEORY AND METHODOLOGY	28
CONCEPTUALISING STRATEGIES OF COMPETITION:	37
CENTRIST PARTIES	37
POLARISING PARTIES	38
A SCALE OF PARTY RESPONSES TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	39
PARTY'S ETHOS AS DETERMINANTS OF POSITIONS ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	41
PARTY RESPONSES TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION.	44
PARTIES' PREFERENCES CONCERNING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	46
INTERACTIONS BETWEEN IDEOLOGY, EUROPEAN POSITIONS AND CORE FORMATION	49
METHODOLOGY	49
THE EMPIRICAL MATERIAL	51
CLASSIFICATION CRITERIA	53
CASE SELECTION	54
CHAPTER III EXPLAINING RIGHT-WING EUROPEAN ATTITUDES	56

STAGES OF POLISH RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION	57
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY	66
LIBERALISM	67
CONSERVATISM	68
NATIONALISM	69
CLASSIFYING PARTIES	71
1989-1993: THE DISSOLUTION OF SOLIDARITY AND THE BUILDING UP OF PARTIES	71
EMERGING BIPOLARISM: THE UNIFICATION OF THE RIGHT BETWEEN 1997 AND 2001	89
REVERSAL: THE 2001 ELECTIONS AND ITS AFTERMATH	
	102
CONCLUSION	ERRO! MARCADOR NÃO DEFINIDO.

CHAPTER IV EXPLAINING LEFT-WING EUROPEAN ATTITUDES

	<u>117</u>
CLASSIFYING PARTIES	119
SOCIAL DEMOCRACY	119
AGRARIANISM	121
ECOLOGISM	122
1989-1993: THE FIRST EXPERIMENTS	
	123
1993-1997: THE GOVERNMENTAL EXPERIENCE	
	137
1997-2001: THE LEFT IN OPPOSITION	
	147
ANALYSIS	158

**CHAPTER V TESTING GOVERNMENT-OPPOSITION DYNAMICS AS AN
EXPLANATION FOR PARTIES' EUROPEAN ATTITUDES**

ERRO! MARCADOR NÃO DEFINIDO.

CENTRIPETAL PARTIES ERRO! MARCADOR NÃO DEFINIDO.

POLARISING PARTIES ERRO! MARCADOR NÃO DEFINIDO.

ANALYSIS ERRO! MARCADOR NÃO DEFINIDO.

CHAPTER VI THE UNINTENDED EFFECTS OF EUROPE

163

**EUROPE AND THE FORMATION OF THE CENTRE-RIGHT CORE: THE DICHOTOMY BETWEEN
NATIONALISM AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

165

1991-1993 GOVERNMENTAL COALITIONS

167

1997-2001: THE AWS GOVERNMENT

173

2001: THE SEARCH FOR IDEOLOGICAL COHERENCE

181

SYNERGIES BETWEEN IDENTITIES AND STRATEGIC BEHAVIOUR

183

THE PSL AND THE SLD TRANSFORMATIONS

183

ANALYSIS 188

CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION

190

EUROPE SEEN FROM THE POLITICAL PRISM

195

EUROPE SEEN FROM THE ECONOMIC PRISM

199

THE GENERAL APPLICABILITY OF THE FRAMEWORK

205

WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES 217

THE WIDER PICTURE 225

CONCLUSION 231

LIST OF ABBREVIATURES

234

BIBLIOGRAPHY 236

Chapter I The wider setting

Since 1989, five parliamentary elections have been the stage for the foundation and demise of political parties aspiring to govern the new democratic Polish state. The demise of the AWS before the 2001 elections after ten years of attempts to create a centre-right core party resulted in a new splintering of the right-wing, and the centre-right became again devoid of a pivotal formation. While Eurosceptic parties in average gain 8 percent of the vote, in the 2001 Polish parliamentary elections Eurosceptic parties gained around 20 percent of the vote. In Poland right-wing parties show an unusual propensity for Euroscepticism. The persistence and increased importance of nationalism in Poland, which has prevented the development of a strong Christian democratic party, effectively explains the levels of Euroscepticism on the right. After the autumn 2005 parliamentary elections the national conservative party, Law and Justice, formed a governing coalition with the national Catholic League of Polish Families, creating one of the first Eurosceptic governments. Although this work does not intend to provide a theorisation of party systems development, it shows that the context of European integration fostered nationalists' divisiveness of, and provoked the splitting of the right the unusual propensity of parties for Euroscepticism makes Poland a paradigmatic case of the kind of conflicts over European integration emerging in Central and Eastern European party systems.

Since the creation of the European Economic Communities in 1956, and in particular since the Maastricht Treaty, extensive decision-making powers were transferred from the national states to the European Union. While in Western Europe the ideological conflicts to emerge from this are only now becoming apparent, in the former Eastern Bloc these conflicts were vividly apparent just some years after the democratic transition.

Our purpose is to provide a framework for the analysis of the impact of European integration in the ideological formation of core party systems in Central and Eastern European. The environment of accession to the EU has been challenging for the

institutionalisation of the party system core in countries where nationalism is a dominant identity, mainly due to the impossibility of hedging conflicts over questions of sovereignty. The Euroscepticism of nationalists adds problems and divisiveness among centre-right coalescent parties. The growing importance of nationalism on the right makes Poland a paradigmatic case of its heightened divisiveness in the context of European integration.

Need for adaptation of Marks and Wilson's cleavage thesis in order to account for the independent impact of nationalism, conceptions of political community for the European stances of parties. This is particularly relevant for the analysis of the impact of Europe on the ideological structuration of the CEE party systems.

The ideological composition of the core party system as a domestic intermediary factor influencing the impact of European integration (in terms of heightened divisiveness). Argument: in those core systems where nationalism is an identifying element, European integration has an indirect effect on the heightened divisiveness of nationalism. This is most obvious in countries where there is a coincidence between the structuration of the core party system (in terms of composition of party families) and the process of accession to the EU.

In the ideological vacuum of post-communism, which some have called "the end of history",¹ a whole new political discourse had to be created. Post-communism is about "reinventing politics".² Besides creating the institutions of a new political regime, new political symbols and political mythology had to be conceived. Europe, as the only future-related symbol of post-communism, became ever present in the political programmes of parties.³ In a paradoxical way, "Europe" offered a valuable substitute for the communist ideology as it is

¹ Fukuyama, F. (1992), The End of History and the Last Man, London: Penguin Books.

² Tismaneanu, V. (1992), Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel, London: Macmillan.

³ Verdery, K. (1999), "Civil Society or Nation? 'Europe' in the Symbolism of Romania's Postsocialist Politics", in Kennedy, M. and Suny, R. Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; Bozóki, A. (1997), "The Ideology of Modernization and the Policy of Materialism: the Day After for the Socialists", Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 13(3): 56-102.

constructed upon a comparable dynamic: the promise of moving towards a better future. Communist political mythology was built around the belief in the coming of a Golden Era,⁴ the perfect world of a classless society. The Golden Era is a significant component of any modern political mythology.⁵ And although “there is very little knowledge, even among the elites, of what the EU actually entails, (...) the prospect of membership is sufficient to sustain a future, a belief that there is an aspiration”.⁶ The way support for integration was formulated in parties’ founding declarations and electoral programmes revealed the mainly symbolic functions of Europe.⁷

Alongside Europe, nationalism emerged as an equally strong political project substantiating the identities of emerging political elites. The structuration of right and left in Poland was partially related to parties’ relation to the concept of the nation. Politicians assembled all socio-cultural issues – religion, nationalism and civic libertarianism in a single programmatic dimension. Poland, even before accession, became a paradigm of the ideological conflicts created within political elites by European supranationalism.

Research objectives

The monograph contributes to the academic literature on the formation of party positions on European integration, and analyses the effects of parties’ normative political ethos, including their attitudes towards nationalism. This provides an effective explanation of the Europhile and Eurosceptic positions of Polish parties, but it can also offer a powerful explanation of the positions taken by Central and Western European political parties with respect to European integration. The monograph then analyses the impact of the European

⁴ Boia, L. (1993), Mythologie Scientifique du Communisme, Caen-Orleans: Paradigme.

⁵ Giraud, R. (1986), Mythes et Mythologies Politiques, Paris: Editions du Seuil.

⁶ Schopflin, G. (2000), Nations. Identity. Power, London: Hurst & Co, p. 69

⁷ The use of general formulations in parties’ manifestoes is normally intended to create a symbology of party identity. Pomper, G. (1988), Voters, Elections and Parties: The Practice of Democratic Theory, Oxford: Transaction Books, p.400.

issue on the formation of the party system core, arguing that the unconditional and unchanging Euroscepticism of nationalists heightened ideological disagreements on the right, thus contributing to the difficulty in creating a stable core to the party system.

Chapter outline

The book starts by providing a conceptual clarification of the basis of parties, both of its ideological and its strategic dimensions. The normative political ethos

developing a 'strategic hypothesis' The second chapter spells the analytical framework that separates and keeps independent the two dimensions of parties' core ideology, the political and the economic. The third and fourth chapters provide the illustration for the hypothesis spelled out in Chapter II, describing empirically the formation of parties' normative political and economic ethos, strategies of competition and positioning on European integration. Chapter V, based on the analytical framework developed in chapter II, formulates the hypothesis that Europe had an unintended divisive impact on the formation of the Polish party system core. The impact of the European issue on the structuration of the party system is analysed through the interaction between parties' ethos formation, strategies of competition and European stances. Analytical strategies of Europeanisation: This hypothesis is then tested in cases where the inconsistency between a party's ethos and its strategies of competition is apparent. The failure to adapt the ethos to a desired strategic location and European attitude is taken as evidence of the predominance of ethos over parties' strategies of competition.

Chapter VI provides a comparative assessment of the framework's applicability, extending to European cases, East and West, the appraisal of the impact of parties' normative political ethos on the formation of their positions on European integration. The chapter draws some conclusions on the impact of these on party policy positions

Conceptions of parties

The party literature has conceived parties in two fundamentally different ways: either as organisations primarily searching to turn their ideological precepts into policies or as organisations seeking above all to elect their members into office. These conceptions are the foundations of the academic literature explaining the stability and change of political parties within democratic systems. Both intend to expose the reasons for the persistence of political organisations established at the time of democratic mobilisation and their establishment in stable and structured formations with regulated interactions, i.e., party systems. According to these two schools of thought, the analysis of individual parties and party systems either portray parties' competitive behaviour as a result of their persistent ideological disagreements or as deriving from a competition to attain office. Based on these two traditions, two sets of theoretical explanations for parties' European integration stances emerged.

The policy-seeking tradition

The policy-seeking tradition of political analysis views a party as essentially determined by its ideology. However, authors of the office-seeking tradition hold different conceptions of ideology and the way it determines parties' behaviour. One strand follows a cultural conception of ideology that follows Weber's conception of ideology as part of cultural conflicts. The other more developed strand conceives ideology as the translation of social interests, a conception informing Rokkan and Lipset's macro-historical theory of party formation, the cleavage theory. The authors holding a cultural conception of ideology ultimately conceive parties as embodiments of political ideas; ideologies alone carry through the party and determine their policy positions. The Rokkanian school sees social groups as intermediaries between parties and ideology; parties are essentially linked to social groups and their interests.

The Rokkanian tradition

According to Lipset and Rokkan, the founding moment of encapsulating social divisions into political identities fundamentally determines a party's ideology and the policy choices available to it.⁸ The process of party formation implies the re-shaping of fuzzy social identities into sharper and more defined political ones, strongly binding their authors and their organisations to the representation of the social group they first mobilised. The Rokkanian approach conceives ideology as deriving directly from interests of social groups. Therefore ideologies are conceived as a set of specific set of policy prescriptions aimed at protecting determinate social groups. Political parties' behaviour, and the relative immobility of European party systems, is explained by the influence of these constraints, imposed on parties during political mobilisation. Ideologies are closely attuned to the socio-economic conditions present at the moment of mass enfranchising; the institutionalisation of these interests in parties means that they remain a long-lasting element in the structuration of political competition. Parties remain deeply bound by the representation of interests long after the enfranchising period is over.

The literature deriving from the Rokkanian concept of ideology and party formation has logically focused on the restraining effect of macro-historical circumstances to explain the endurance of a party identity through social and political upheavals. "It is only through the historical process of mobilisation, politicisation and democratization that any specific cleavage acquires its distinctive normative profile and organisational network".⁹ Bartolini and Mair maintain that socio-economic classes provide a closure of the electoral market; cultural values are consequently secondary in the creation of political identities. The

⁸ Rokkan, S. and Lipset, S.M. (1967), "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction" in Rokkan, S. and Lipset, S.M (eds.) Party Systems and Voter Alignments: A Cross National Perspective, New York: Collier Macmillan.

⁹ Bartolini, S. and Mair, P. (1990), Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability: The Stabilization of European Electorates, 1885-1985, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

sociological school maintains that social classes provide a boundary of mobilisation that is harder to cross, and political discourses are not crucial to the process of mobilisation.¹⁰ The focus of this literature is therefore on specifying the social macro-conditions and how they determine the mobilisation of parties.¹¹

This discussion is also linked to the debate concerning the chances of parties' supra-class strategies. Following Rokkan's assumptions, Przeworski and Sprague describe the restrictions imposed by the representation of blue-collar interests on social democratic parties trying to extend their appeal. The authors conclude that a fundamental dilemma is imposed on social democratic leaders: either to maintain their core constituency or to enlarge their appeal. Przeworski and Sprague do not consider the reinterpretation of their class appeal as a possible strategy and conclude that social democracy is doomed to lose its role of "integration and identification"¹², i.e., to become a catch-all party or to lose its electoral pre-eminence.

Kirchheimer's description of the adaptation of mass parties to changing conditions of political competition, imposed by increased electoral volatility and the decline of social identification is equally based on a Rokkanian understanding of ideology. Kirchheimer's catch-all theory implies that parties have to choose between maintaining their ideology, translated in the defence of social groups' interests, and achieving or maintaining electoral success. Kirchheimer observes that European mass parties adapted to the decline of social identification by shedding their ideological commitments and transforming into catch-all parties with an appeal that transcends the social groups' interests.¹³ For Kirchheimer the

¹⁰ Bartolini, S. and Mair, P. (1990), op.cit.

¹¹ See for example Bartolini, S. (2000), The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980: The Class Cleavage, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

¹² Puhle, H. (2002), "Still the Age of Catch-allism? *Volksparteien* and *Parteienstaat* in Crisis and Re-Equilibration" in Gunther, R. et al. (eds.), Political Parties, Old Concepts and New Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 78.

¹³ Otto Kirchheimer, "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems" in Joseph LaPalombara, eds., Political Parties and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. .

widening of a party appeal necessarily implies severing the link with the particular social groups from which ideologies originate.

Party ethos and the cultural conception of ideology

Those authors subscribing to a *cultural* conception of ideology differ from the Rokkanian approach in that they see ideologies primarily as a product of intellectual processes and not as a direct translation of group interests in the political sphere. For these authors ideology is related to, but not deriving directly from, the social structures. The creation of an ideology maybe inspired by the social reality but it always implies an abstracisation from the particular social circumstances in which it emerges; it is an intellectual process that is partially independent of sociological circumstances. Ideologies are created when certain ideas have been abstracticised from their social context. Ideological creators specify “the ways social conditions are themselves textualised, *structured by basic conceptual distinctions* and turned into figural elements.”¹⁴ Ideologies emerge in circumstances of social change; however, ideology, as culture, is produced by actors who choose the central elements of reality to be represented.

The production of ideology consists in a simultaneous articulation of ideas corresponding to social and political circumstances and an abstractization of these same conditions through the use of representative elements. Although ideologies are linked to the historical circumstances on which they are formed, they have an abstract, representative nature that allows them to transcend the more immediate situations in which they are produced. In the production of these systems of ideas and their institutionalisation a core group of ideas remains available to be used in other contexts and times. The process of ideological institutionalisation requires the creation of “communities of discourse”, and political

¹⁴ Wuthnow, R. (1989), Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

parties are one of the institutions that play a crucial role in this process. Therefore, at the core of political parties are key conceptions of the political and economic reality determining parties' ideological and policy positions. If a party occupying a policy space disappears the policy space previously occupied by it will be up for grabs.

Several authors implicitly or explicitly treated the subject of party formation under the prism of a cultural conception of ideology. In his book *"Political Parties in Western Democracies"*, Von Beyme subscribes to the vision that value conflicts, rather than the competing interests of social groups, are the basis of political ideology.¹⁵ When describing party families the author focuses primarily on the intellectual environment of political elites rather than on the sociological context of its voters. The literature on party formation subscribing to the cultural origins of ideology tends to describe the micro-conditions of party formation and focused primarily on the intellectual environment of political elites and the way it interacts with the social and political context. Primary examples of this literature are Laitin, Kalyvas, and Kitschelt's descriptions of the formation and transformation of parties and ideologies.¹⁶ These authors assume that actors are strongly determined by their basic assumptions about reality; these conceptions then become crucial for the politicization of certain identities, in a particular way, place and time.¹⁷ Since these organisational processes are costly and electoral victory plays an important role in their consolidation, ideas become encapsulated as party identities and are central elements of political competition.

¹⁵ Von Beyme, K. (1985), *Political Parties in Western Democracies*, Gower: Aldershot.

¹⁶ Laitin, D. (1986), *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change Among the Yoruba*, Chicago: Chicago University Press; Kalyvas, S. (1996), *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*, Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press; Kitschelt, H. (1994), *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.265.

¹⁷ Kalyvas, S. (1996), op. cit., p.134.

The party ethos

Political parties are created to embody political ideas. Parties therefore represent in their ethos the central and immutable concepts. A party's ethos is distinguishable from party doctrines, which are applied propositions in the electoral sphere and subject to immediate considerations of electoral success.¹⁸ A party's ethos is a fundamental and abstract concept from which other ideological positions derive. Party ethos and party doctrines are connected but obey to different logics: the first relates to the long-term party survival and the second addresses the more immediate external image of the party.¹⁹

A party ethos limits the party's ability to adapt to changing conditions of competition. Parties can not shed the basic conceptions that provide the coherence of their political role in representative and procedural terms. Since the ethos does not derive from social group interests but is rather an abstract conception, parties can develop supra-class strategies without losing their core ideas.²⁰ Consequently, the response of parties to the declining social identification that characterised European democracies in the second half of the twentieth century does not necessarily imply the shedding of their core identities. The assumption that ideology is derived from an intellectual process rather than being a translation of social group interests serves to explain differently the way parties adapt to conditions of competition.

Thus, in light of the cultural conception of ideology, Kirchheimer's argument that the European mass parties' transformation into catch-all parties has implied a total shedding of their ideological commitments does not appear correct. The transformation of European

¹⁸ Druker, H.M. (1979), Doctrine and Ethos in the Labor Party, London: Allen and Unwin.

¹⁹ Although Gallagher, Laver and Mair consider that classifying parties according to their identities is one of the accepted ways of classifying parties, the literature has largely ignored this classification and concentrated on policy positions and international linkages. Gallagher, M. Laver, M. and Mair, P. (1992), Representative Government in Modern Europe, New York McGraw-Hill, p.181.

²⁰ This is the debate between, for example, Kitschelt and Przeworski and Sprague on the transformation of European social democracy.

mass parties into catch-all parties²¹ did not imply giving up their core ideas. The widening of parties' appeals was not indiscriminate but guided by parties' origins and value commitments; modern parties are therefore not free to adopt any position that potentially increases their chances to win votes, as the small variation in policy positions of European parliamentary parties in the last fifty years testifies.²² In fact, certain ideologies were always conducive to denominational and class parties, like the Italian Christian democrats or the German social democrats, showing a tendency towards catch-all strategies since the emergence of mass politics. The search for electoral success by the widening of a party's appeal is in no way an exclusive characteristic of European politics in the second part of the XX century. Catch-all appeals also derive from the vision of the political environment implied by the core values of a party's identity.

These conceptions underlie Kitschelt's analysis of European social democracy. While stressing that "the continuity of ideas over time is a critical factor influencing the ways parties stake out appeals"²³ Kitschelt affirms the possibility of a supra-class strategy. This is possible due to a reinterpretation of class; this allowed social democratic parties to succeed in maintaining their identity and adapt to the decline of working class identification. The author suggests that some social democratic parties were successful in widening their appeal by stressing the political dimensions of their ideology and effectively reinterpreting the meaning of class while maintaining a commitment to social justice.²⁴

The view that party change implies the reinterpretation of party ethos is shared by Panebianco. Panebianco's conception of integrated change is congruent with the view that in the long-term party change always implies a re-operationalisation of political ethos,

²¹ Kirchheimer, O. (1966), "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems" in LaPalombara, J. and Weiner, M. Political Parties and Political Development, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

²² Budge, I. (2001), Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors and Governments, 1945-1998, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.274.

²³ Kitschelt, H. (1994), The Transformation of European Social Democracy, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.265.

organisation and policies. Panebianco and other proponents of integrated party change consider that all aspects of parties, be they organisational, ideological or strategic, are interdependent.²⁵ The different dimensions are related and change in one aspect is constrained by adjustments in another. Therefore party transformation can only be the result of “consistent organisational transformations”.²⁶ Shifts in a party’s strategy should also lead to a change in its organisational format.²⁷ Panebianco suggests that the reinterpretation of a party’s identity can lead to a change in competitive strategy.²⁸ This process can not, however, take place in a sweeping manner, and party change is therefore a slow process.²⁹

Assuming that ideas are in the long-term predominant over strategies results in treating political competition in a fundamentally different way from economic competition.³⁰ The agreement on a set of fundamental values, as a condition for the maintenance of political solidarity, is a structural variable of political competition and an impediment to the free reign of competitive office-seeking logic.

The ethos view of parties rejects the vision that parties’ rationality should be seen mainly as the attempt to attain office. Political values that are at the core of parties’ identities provide actors with a fundamental framework for analysing reality; parties’ rationality is primarily bound by this framework of reality. In the words of Przeworski: “Ideas are critical for

²⁴ Kitschelt, H. (1994), op. cit.

²⁵ Janda, K. et.al. (1995), “ Changes in Party Identity: Evidence from Party Manifestos” , Party Politics, 1(2): 171-196 and Panebianco, A. (1988), Political Parties: Organization and Power, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 16.

²⁶ Panebianco, A. (1988), op.cit.

²⁷ Harmel, R. and Janda, K. (1994), “ An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change” , Journal of Theoretical Politics, 6(3): 259-288, p. 283

²⁸ Harmel, R. and Janda, K. (1994), op. cit

²⁹ Wolinetz, S. (2002), “Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies”, in Gunther, R. et.al (eds.), Political Parties, Old Concepts and New Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 157-8.

³⁰ Bartolini, S. (2000), “Collusion, Competition and Democracy, Part II”, Journal of Theoretical Politics, 12 (1): 33- 65.

explaining the direction in which parties diverge from rational strategies.”³¹ Therefore, in order to deal with the decline of voter-party linkages, parties’ can reinterpret their ethos, but not abandon their basic conceptions. A party’s core concepts therefore work as an anchor, shaping rather than following the competitive environment.³² As such response to electoral defeat is limited by the values informing parties’ core identities.

The office-seeking tradition

The pure rationality school

The conception of parties as unbound by value commitments and free to change their policy positions in order to be fit to compete was first formulated by Anthony Downs.³³ In his *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, Downs states that “parties formulate policies in order to win elections, rather than win elections in order to formulate policies”.³⁴ Downs applied the concepts and methods of analysis of economics to political competition, portraying office and its benefits as the equivalents of payments in economic theory. According to this vision, the primary goal of parties is winning elections: parties are not locked into policy positions. Instead, party elites can manipulate positions in order to maximise support. Parties are conceived as ad hoc and loosely bound groups of office-seeking individuals, whose ideological preferences are irrelevant for the strategic decisions of the party. Party cohesion is assured by the satisfaction of aspirations to office of its members.

The Downsian view of voters as perfectly elastic consumers, ready to switch their vote should an attractive policy offer be made to them, implies that voters’ preferences are

³¹ Przeworski, A. and Sprague, J. (1986), Paper Stones: a History of Electoral Socialism, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 224.

³² Sartori, G. (1976), Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Schattschneider, E. (1964), Political Parties and Democracy, New York: Holt, p.64.

³³ Downs, A. (1957), An Economic Theory of Democracy, New York: Harper and Row.

³⁴ Although Downs treats ideology as instrumental and as a rational short-cut to policy position, he also considers that party ideology should contain a degree of internal and external coherence. However, this idea is never included in the model since it would undermine its own foundations. Downs, A. (1957), op. cit., p.28.

seen as exogenous to the process of party competition.³⁵ Therefore voters participate and vote based on utilitarian considerations of the expected policy output of a party. Modifications to this analysis of voting motivations have been suggested by schools named as “subjective Downsianism” and “social Downsianism”. Subjective Downsianism maintains that rather than an objective and rational assessment of voting and policy utilities, it is the perceived utilities and perceived probabilities of influencing the policy outcomes of elections that motivates elites and voters. Social Downsianism considers that belonging to social groups reinforces individuals’ appreciation of voting utility.

The view that office attainment is the fundamental motivation of politicians and the utility output of a certain policy the main consideration for voters, suggests that the form of party organisation is unimportant in the short- and the long-term; organisations can be adapted to office-seeking considerations in order to win office at all or almost all levels at which elections take place (local, regional or national). Parties are therefore weakly hierarchical organisations that function more as coalitional structures, broad enough to embrace different social groups and give the party a chance of winning a majority.

Downs’ office-seeking party vision was developed through an immensity of literature, encompassing both theoretical models and empirical work on party positions and the dimensionality of the political space. Based on the premise that competition for office determines the content and stability of party policies, the literature on the formal modelling of party policy positions grew considerably.³⁶

³⁵ Laver, M. and Hunt, B. (1992), Policy and Party Competition, New York: Routledge, p. 3.

³⁶ Castles, F. and Mair, P. (1984), “Left-Right Scales: Some Expert Judgments”, European Journal of Political Research, 12(1): 73-89, Budge, I. Robertson, D. and Hearl, D. (eds.), (1987), Ideology, Strategy and Party Change: Spatial Analysis of Post-War Election Programs in 19 Democracies, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Laver, M.J. and Hunt, W.B. (1992), Policy and Party Competition, London: Routledge and Huber, J. and Inglehart, R. (1995), “Expert Interpretation of Party Space and Party Locations in 42 Societies”, Party Politics, 1(1): 73-111, Kitschelt, H. et.al. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems. Competition, Representation, Inter-Party Cooperation, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

The bounded office-seeking school

Although inspired by Downs' conceptions of parties as office-seeking organisations, most authors of this school now considers that political actors act in an environment that constrains their options. Constraints are formulated mainly as to how the institutional set-up influences parties' choices. Therefore, scholarship advances by formulating how attaining office is embedded in a set of institutional constraints. Parties act within an institutional set-up, the political regime, which fundamentally determines their opportunity structure and therefore influences their strategies. The degree to which parties are voter maximizers and the manner in which they compete are therefore fundamentally determined by the institutional environment and parties' strategic decisions are deeply affected by the institutional constraints they act in.³⁷

The most obvious institutional constraints on parties' behaviour are electoral systems. Electoral systems provide different degrees of distortion on the translation of votes into parliamentary seats.³⁸ Distortions are larger in single-member districts than in proportional representation. In systems of proportional representation party strategies are also dependent on district magnitude, electoral thresholds and the system of seat allocation.³⁹ Electoral systems therefore oblige parties to act strategically in order to maximise the number of seats obtained. Electoral systems also determine to a large extent whether the system is a two-party, three-party or a multiparty system, and this determines the structure of incentives in the attainment of office and coalition politics.⁴⁰ According to this literature, the type of party appeals, whether stable or changing, narrow or broad, are to a large extent predetermined by

³⁷ Müller, W. and Strøm, K. (eds.), (2000), Coalition Governance in Western Europe, Oxford: Oxford University Press

³⁸ Cox, G. (1997), Making Votes Count, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

³⁹ Taagepera, R. and Shugart, M. (1989), Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

⁴⁰ Taagepera, R. and Shugart, M. (1993), "Predicting the Number of Parties: A Quantitative Model of Duverger's Mechanical Effect", American Political Science Review, 87(2): 455-464.

the conditions of competition.⁴¹ In multiparty systems the complexity of coalition politics determines that vote maximisation is not the sole consideration parties should take in consideration when staking out appeals; rather, considerations related to coalition bargaining are equally important considerations.

The process of coalition formation is also determined by the format of the regime, i.e., whether parliamentary or presidential. Müller and Strøm argue that party strategies are constrained by the way legislative seats are transformed into bargaining power, i.e., the process of coalition formation. If legislative seats translate directly into coalition bargaining power, in a more single-minded way parties will try to maximise votes, for example by developing a catch-all strategy.⁴² If, on the contrary, coalition bargaining is subject to other factors, these will constrain the way a party develops its electoral strategy.⁴³ Equally, the greater the differential between office benefits when in office and in opposition, the more strongly parties will pursue office. Majoritarian systems, by excluding a large number of parties from office, encourage a starker fight for votes than more inclusive systems where governmental participation is enlarged to a wider set of players.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Müller, W. and Strøm, K. (eds.), (1999), Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁴² op.cit.

⁴³ Strøm, K., Budge, I and Laver, M. (1994), "Constraints on Cabinet Formation in Parliamentary Democracies", American Journal of Political Science, 38(2): 303-335.

⁴⁴ Müller, W. and Strøm, K. (eds.), (1999), Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Theoretical approaches to the determination of parties' European attitudes

The policy-seeking tradition

The study of parties as actors in European integration is a relatively recent strand of the study of European politics. Simon Hix and Christopher Lord were the first to research the field by analysing parties' European positions in the context of the European party families.⁴⁵ Stating that parties' European attitudes are relatively stable phenomena, their work suggests a linkage between support and opposition to European integration and the established European party families. However, Hix and Lord do not theorise the linkage between party families and a party's European positions; parties are organised in party families mainly to expose the differences in terms of European attitudes within party families.

The first attempt to determine parties' European attitudes through their ideological positions was carried out by Gary Marks and Carole Wilson. These authors started by testing party divergences in the perception of economic integration deriving both from the position of the parties in the economic left-right scale and the national states degree of welfare support in relation to the European average. Marks and Wilson established that party strategies are weak explanatory variables and consider that "political parties (...) have an interest in blending the issue of European integration into existing patterns of party competition".⁴⁶ Parties' attitudes towards European integration would depend on their perception of the EU's contribution to their preferred economic regime. A social democratic party in a relatively liberal

⁴⁵ Hix, S. and Lord, (1997), Political Parties in the European Union, Basingstoke : Macmillan, p. 240.

⁴⁶ Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30(3): 433-460.

national economy is expected to become more pro-European as the EU increases its regulatory competences. An economically liberal party is expected to become progressively less enthusiastic as economic integration goes beyond the single market template in regulating the market. This first analysis, based on economic criteria, largely ignored the role of political values in determining attitudes towards European integration.

In their 2002 article, Marks, Hooghe and Wilson revise their stance by empirically testing the relative weight of the political-cultural axis of competition against the left-right economic axis in determining parties' European positions. The authors conceptualise the New Politics axis as an agglomeration of policy positions, on one side being the Green, Alternative and Libertarian (GAL) positions, on the other the Traditional, Authoritarian and Nationalist (TAN) ones. Despite the multidimensionality of the axis, the authors conclude that it is the nationalist component of the axis that makes parties' European positions so consistent with the GAL-TAN axis. Proximity to the TAN pole is the strongest factor determining parties' attitudes towards European integration.⁴⁷ Although Marks, Hooghe and Wilson's article stresses the importance of the political dimension, in the Introduction of the Special issue of *Comparative Politics* Marks and Steenbergen eventually hedge their position by asserting that the predominance of the political dimension is inconsequential since the two dimensions normally fuse and can be considered part of the same left-right economic dimension.⁴⁸

Although asserting the importance of the political dimension of party ideology, Marks, Hooghe and Wilson's theory is based on a multi-variable statistical analysis pitching parties' ideologies and strategic positions against each other. This methodological approach results in a theory that is too simple to account for parties' responses to European integration. By classifying parties through a two-dimensional typology serving as the basis of an explanation of parties' European attitudes, the theory developed in this thesis attempts to

⁴⁷ Hooghe, L. Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2002), "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8): 965-989.

⁴⁸ Marks, G. and Steenbergen, M. (2002), "Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8): 879-892.

result in a more precise prediction of party positions on European integration and a basis to understand parties' rationality.

The office-seeking tradition

Downs' spatial analysis predicts that a party's strategic behaviour is primarily determined by its office-seeking efforts. As a means to maximise vote parties tend to adopt a centripetal behaviour and a centrist position in the policy space. When excluded from government, parties devise centrifugal tactics that serve as a way of creating effective opposition to the government. Deriving from the premise that a party's primary objective is achieving office, two theories of party attitudes to European integration were devised.⁴⁹ First Paul Taggart and then Nick Sitter conceived Euroscepticism as part of the opposition tactics of competition, and Europhilism as linked to a strategy aimed at increasing the chances of attaining government. Parties permanently or temporarily excluded from governmental office take Euroscepticism as a way of marking their opposition to central government, both in systematic and in a sporadic way. If parties are essentially seen as vote-and office-seeking institutions, the fundamental motivation of a party when devising policy positions is the maximisation of its chances of achieving office. It is the logic of vote and office-seeking that determines parties' European positions. The fact that European integration is a process essentially driven by national governments makes it logical that parties of power maintain a

⁴⁹ Taggart, P. "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems", European Journal of Political Research, 33(3): 363-388; Taggart, P. and Szczerbiak (2001), "Parties, Positions and Europe: Euroscepticism in the Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe", Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 10-12 April, Manchester; Kopecky, P. and Mudde, C. (2002), "The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe", European Union Politics, 3(3): 297-326, Sitter, N. (2001), "The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: is Euroscepticism a Government-Opposition Dynamic?", West European Politics, 24(4): 22-39.

Europhile attitude. In reverse, Euroscepticism has become a “touchstone of dissent”⁵⁰ from mainstream politics, a way of marking opposition to the government.

The difference between Taggart and Sitter’s position hinges on Taggart’s conception of opposition not only as a condition of strategic location in the party system, but also as a result of parties’ ideological extremism. Sitter, on the other hand, formulates a theory of party positions on European integration based solely on the dichotomy between government and opposition. Also, while Taggart considers that only parties outside the central cartel express Eurosceptic positions, Sitter proposes that any party excluded from government at a particular point in time is bound to take Eurosceptic positions.⁵¹ Both Sitter’s and Taggart’s theories are based on locational variables; Taggart, however, by stating that Euroscepticism is the “touchstone of dissent”⁵² does not imply that centrifugal tactics provoke Euroscepticism. The author merely maintains that populism is at the origin of both Euroscepticism and centrifugal strategies. Populism results in both an ideological aversion to centrist politics compromises and to the EU’s supranational mode of decision-making.⁵³ The author does not specify the relations between strategies of competition, ideological factors and Euroscepticism. Sitter ascribes Euroscepticism only to a rational opposition tactic, and states that a party exclusion from governmental office, and its subsequential centrifugal strategies, is the primary cause of Euroscepticism.

⁵⁰ Taggart, P. (1998), op. cit.

⁵¹ Sitter, N. (2001), “The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: Is Euroscepticism a Government-Opposition Dynamic?”, West European Politics, 24(4): 22-39.

⁵² Taggart, P. (1998), op.cit.

⁵³ Taggart defines populism as the defense of the heartland. The heartland is defined as an imaged community with homogenous people with an exclusive right of belonging, a concept which appears very close to the conceptualization of nation by Anderson. However, Taggart defends that “The heartland, in so far as it refers to the nation, is a very qualified nationalism, explicitly excluding a series of social groups. It is organized around the idea of an organic community that has some natural solidarity and is therefore more circumscribed than the sort of community contained within national boundaries”. In my point of view both concepts rely on the continuity between territory and population. See Taggart, P. (2000), Populism, Buckingham: Open University Press, p.97.

Conclusion

Despite the efforts for ideology-based and strategy-derived explanations of party positions on European integration, a satisfactory account of the causes of party European attitudes is still absent.⁵⁴ This seems to derive partially from a conception of parties as the translators of economic conflicts, which results in the simplification of ideology as the left-right axis,⁵⁵ partially from the use of multivariate statistical analysis that makes it impossible to account for heterogeneous causality.

In the attempt to achieve a better explanation for party positioning in the Euroscepticism-Europhilism continuum I develop a new typology of parties as translators of intellectual value conflicts. The core concepts at the centre of parties' ideologies are the long-term determinants of parties' positions on European integration. This theory also attempts to overcome the pitching of ideology against strategy by conceiving of an interaction between the two factors and European integration.

The ethos theory of parties' responses to European integration is a contribution in theoretical understanding to party-based support and opposition to the process of the unification of the continent. The thesis also presents a new scale of parties' European attitudes. Despite the decreased importance of their representative functions a party is still guided by the core value embodied in its identity. This thesis also aims at contributing to the general study of parties with an understanding of party's rationality is bounded by certain conceptual understandings of the political and economic realities; parties try to act strategically within these boundaries. Achieving office is therefore intrinsically linked to

⁵⁴ Mair, P. (2000), "The Limited Impact of Europeanisation on National Party Systems", West European Politics, 23(4): 27-51.

⁵⁵ Hix, S. (1999), "Dimensions and Alignments in European Union Politics: Cognitive Constraints and Partisan Responses", European Journal of Political Research, 35: 69-106; Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party response to European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30(3): 433-460.

realizing the goals inscribed in the conceptions of political and economic basic units deriving from the cultural and intellectual environment of the party's elite and remains a fundamental determinant of party's policy positioning. Constituting the party's core identity, these concepts provide long-term consistency to their doctrines by constraining the policy options of the elites.

Chapter II The Explanatory Framework

This chapter proposes a new conceptualisation of parties and uses it to explain party positions on a newly-defined Europhile/Eurosceptic scale. Contrary to other ideological explanations of parties' European attitudes,⁵⁶ the ethos theory classifies parties according to their political and economic ethos rather than their policy positions. Also, the explanation of party responses to European integration developed here considers the independent impact of a party's political and economic dimensions on its European attitudes.

This chapter is divided in two sections. The first section presents the theoretical framework of a party's European attitudes by re-conceptualising Von Beyme's notion of party family as the explanation of a party's responses to European integration. It equally proposes a new conceptualisation of the Euroscepticism-Europhilism scale and a section with propositions on the necessity and sufficiency of different conditions. In the second part Qualitative Comparative Method (QCA) is presented as the methodology used to test party positions on European integration.

Party ethos and the mapping of ideological space

Scholars typically depict parties' ideological stances on a left-right axis, which associates the socio-cultural and economic dimensions into one single continuum. While authors define the two dimensions in purposefully different ways, most define the dimensions of political competition as a continuum agglomerating ideological positions with no particular

⁵⁶ Gary Marks and Carole Wilson, "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", *British Journal of Political Science*, 30 (2000), 443-59; Gary Marks, Hooghe, Liesbet and Wilson. Carole, "Does Left Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?" *Comparative Political Studies*, 35 (2002), 965-89.

link but parties' attempt to offer an attractive package easily appreciable by voters.⁵⁷ Following the Rokkian tradition, these authors view party ideology as the reflection of social groups' preferences.

This agglomeration of policy issues results in a definition of the cultural dimension of party competition that previledges one particular view of the nature of policy stances. While the economic divide is consensually defined as a continuum of positions along the redistributive–liberal economic dimension, several authors propose different definitions of the socio-cultural dimension. While Marks, Hooghe, and Wilson define the vertical axis as the continuum between a green, alternative and libertarian pole (GAL) and a traditional, authoritarian and nationalist pole (TAN), in their *Post-Communist Party Systems* Kitschelt et.al. define it as a continuum of socio-cultural ideological positions stretching between an authoritarian and a libertarian pole.

The typology of parties I propose here differs from these conceptions of ideological space in two ways. The first difference results from envisaging party ideology primarily as the intellectual positions of an elite group on the relations between the individual and the political community. I therefore see parties as embodiments of these fundamental conceptions rather than as translations of socio-cultural values and economic interests in the political sphere. From these core elements parties derive other ideological positions. The ideological space is therefore composed of types of parties differently combining the political and the economic ethos.⁵⁸

Secondly, the conception of ideology as the regulator of the political relationship between the individual and the community also results in a different definition of the vertical

⁵⁷ Kitschelt, H. et. al. (1999), *Post-Communist Party Systems*, op.cit., p. 249; Inglehart, R. (1977), *The Silent Revolution – Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics*, Princeton, NJ:Princeton University Press; Hooghe, L., Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2002), "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8): 965- 989.

⁵⁸ Von Beyme, K. (1985), *Political Parties in Western Democracies*, Gower: Aldershot.

dimension of competition. In effect, most attempts to characterise the ideological space follow Inglehart's conceptualisation of the vertical axis as a reflexion of variance in socio-cultural values along a materialist/post-materialist continuum. Following a Rokkanian conception of party ideology, Inglehart conceptualised the ideological space as the transaction of societal conflicts into the political sphere.⁵⁹ In contrast I conceive this axis of competition as an independent reflecting the different attitudes parties take on the nature of political community, including attitudes towards nationalism.

The typology of political parties developed here appears to add to Marks, Hooghe, and Wilson's GAL-TAN axis or Kitschelt's dimensions of competition as an explanation of parties positions on integration because it replaces an agglomerate of socio-cultural conceptions with a more fundamental way of distinguishing parties. Parties' ideological positions derive from a 'genetic code' of conceptions that serve as the interpretative key to the political environment. Parties thus possess political "mental maps"⁶⁰ through which they chose their ideological positions. Liberal's conception of the political community as the civil society results therefore in a liberal vision of culture that sees a variety of lifestyles as an acceptable and desirable feature of society. From the nationalist definition of political community derives a conservative vision that attempts to preserve the past culture and society. The class vision of the political and economic communities results in a libertarian view of culture and social interactions. Parties are ultimately "communities of discourse" sharing basic conceptions of the political reality.⁶¹ Since the creation of such communities has "high start-up costs and learning effects"⁶², their definition is expected to be largely stable.

⁵⁹ Inglehart, R. (1977), The Silent Revolution – Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

⁶⁰ Arthur, W. (1994), Increasing Returns and Path Dependence in the Economy, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press and Denzau, A. and North, D. (1994). "Shared Mental Models: Ideologies and Institutions", Kyklos 47 (1): 3-31.

⁶¹ Wuthnow, R. (1989), Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁶² Pierson, P. (2000), "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics", American Political Science Review, 94(2): 251-268.

The basic values informing a political identity are therefore structural elements of political competition.⁶³

Parties' genetic codes differ not only in their content but also in the relative importance of the economic and the political conceptions. Some are based on an economic concept, i.e., the definition of the economic community, others on a value conflict of a political nature, i.e., the definition of the political community. This results in some parties being more deeply entrenched in the political dimension and others in the economic dimension of their ethos. For example, the socialists' political identity derives from the economic conflicts between work and capital; therefore the socialists' ethos is based on an economic definition of a basic social unit; while the Christian democrats' identity is essentially formed by the value conflicts between secularism and a conception of political community based on Catholic universalism.

By distinguishing and keeping separate the political and the economic dimensions of parties' ideologies and replacing a one-dimensional continuum by a two-dimensional classification, this typology differs equally from the widely accepted left-right one-dimensional view of political attitudes and ideologies.⁶⁴ Inglehart first conceptualised the socio-cultural dimension separate from the left-right economic dimension,⁶⁵ but eventually considered that the two should be assimilated in one single axis.⁶⁶ This proposition was adopted by most authors, on the assumption that a synthesis of the political and economic

⁶³ Shepsle, K. (1986), "Institutional Equilibrium and Equilibrium Institutions", in Weisberg, H. (ed.), Political Science: the Science of Politics, New York: Agathon.

⁶⁴ Marks and Wilson, "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", (;Marks, "Does Left Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?" (Hix, S. and Lord, C. (1997), Political Parties in the European Union, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

⁶⁵ Inglehart, R. (1977), The Silent Revolution – Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press and Inglehart, R. (1990), Cultural Shift in Advanced Industrial Society Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

⁶⁶ Inglehart, R. (1990), op. cit. pp.289-300; Inglehart, R. and Rabier, J. (1986), "Political Realignment in Advanced Industrial Society: From Class Based Politics to Quality of Life Politics", Government and Opposition, 21(4): 456-479; Knutsen, O. (1998), "Expert Judgment of the Left/Right Location of Political Parties: A Comparative Longitudinal Study", West European Politics, 21(2).

dimensions worked on the functional level, since it enabled political competition to be simplified into either a dichotomy of “left-libertarian” and “right-authoritarian” positions. However, this single dimension does not appear to explain the structuration of parties in the European policy space.

A typology of party ethos

The table below describes the combinations of political and economic communities constituting the variety of party types present in Europe. Each party type holds one of the dimensions as central to its identity; the other, although secondary, maintains a separate and independent impact on a party's policy positioning. Contrary to the left-right conceptualisation which assimilates the new politics dimension into the left-right economic axis, this typology maintains the political and the economic ethos separate.⁶⁷ The **political ethos** is the conception of the political community, the basic unit of a polity that delineates the parameters of the parties' responses to phenomena affecting the political relationship between the state and its citizens. The **economic ethos** is the conception of the economic community, the basic unit of economic relations defining the preferred national economic regime.

To define the content of the political and the economic ethos of European parties⁶⁸ I derive from the literature on European parties a description of the basic communities at the core of each party type. The social democrats' identifying community is the economic class. Social democrats are therefore committed to the elimination of differences among classes by counteracting inequalities stemming from structural positions in the labour

⁶⁷ Kitschelt, H. (1995), “Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies: Theoretical Propositions”, *Party Politics*, 1(4): 447-472; Kitschelt, H. and Hellemans, S. (1989), “The Left-Right Semantics and the New Politics Cleavage”, *Comparative Political Studies*, 21(4): 141-178.

⁶⁸ Von Beyme, K. (1988), *op.cit.*

market and protecting low and minimum income groups.⁶⁹ Adapting to the globalisation's limiting impact on the opportunities for demand-side strategies⁷⁰, social democrats moved to policies "addressing the physical and social organization of production and the cultural conditions of consumption in advanced capitalist societies".⁷¹ The social democrats' cosmopolitanism derives from their definition of economic classes as the fundamental community of economic and social activity.

Christian democracy encompasses those parties whose ideology translates the Christian message into a political programme.⁷² Although the autonomy of confessional parties from the relevant churches has been achieved to a greater or lesser degree in different countries, the reference to a religious conception of the fundamental political community remains the essential element of those parties' identity.⁷³ Catholic social doctrine inspires the choice of the family as the basic economic community. Consequently, Christian

⁶⁹ Huber, E. Ragin, C. and Stephens, J. (1993), op.cit.

⁷⁰ Garrett, G. (1996), "Capital Mobility. Trade and Domestic Politics" in Keohane, R. and Milner, H. (eds.), Internationalisation and Domestic Politics, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁷¹ Kitschelt, H. (1994), The Transformation of European Social Democracy, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 7; Boix, C. (1998), Political Parties: Growth and Equality, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Stephens, J. Huber, E. and Ray, L. (1999), "The Welfare State in Hard Times", in Kitschelt, H. et al. (eds.) Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Kitschelt, H. Lange, P. and Stephens, J.D. (1999), "Convergence and Divergence in Advanced Capitalist Democracies", in Kitschelt, H. , et al. (eds.), Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁷² Becker, W., (1997) "The Emergence and Development of Christian Democratic Parties in Western Europe" in E. Lamberts, (ed.), Christian Democracy in the European Union, Proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium 1995, Leuven: Leuven University Press, pp.109; Hanley, D., (1994), "Introduction: Christian Democracy as a Political Phenomenon" in Hanley, D. (ed.), Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective, London: Pinter; Houska, J., (1985) Influencing Mass Political Behaviour: Elites and Political Sub-Cultures in the Netherlands and Austria, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies; Kirchheimer, O., (1996), "The Catch All Party" in LaPalombara, J. and Weiner, M., (1966), Political Parties and Political Development, Princeton: Princeton University Press; Wolinetz, S., (1979), "The Transformation of Western European Party Systems Revisited", West European Politics 2(1).

⁷³ Kalyvas, S., (1996), The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

democrats conceive the welfare state as “aiming at ameliorating the sufferings resulting from market inequalities but not at replacing or changing market conditions”.⁷⁴

The liberal parties’ basic unit is the individual human being. Liberals promote the individuals’ right of free economic and political association in the market and the civil society. While in their formative period liberal parties’ main goal was the achievement of political reform, as a consequence of long-term adaptation to the structure of electoral competition, the individual’s capacity to act in a sovereign manner in the market-place became their dominant identity trait.⁷⁵

Among European parties conservatives’ identity is the least consistent and the most adaptable to changing political and economic circumstances. Conservatives were created in the attempt to protect endangered institutions such as the church and the monarchy. However, although conservatives initially opposed liberals in both political and economic terms, several factors, among which the socialists’ electoral success, led conservatives to progressively adopt economic liberalism and opposing the development of the state’s redistributive role. Conservatism in contemporary Europe combines the definition of the nation as the political community and the individual as the economic unit.⁷⁶

Nationalists’ fundamental political community is the nation, and the nation-state’s sovereignty the party’s highest value. The national economy is conceived as a closed system that can be insulated from the international market by protectionist policies.⁷⁷ The corollary of these two propositions is that states’ external relations are dominated by the need to preserve

⁷⁴ Huber, E., Ragin, C. and Stephens, J.D. “Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure and the Welfare State”, op. cit.

⁷⁵ Smith, G., (1998), “Between Left and Right: The Ambivalence of European Liberalism” in Kirchner, E.J. Liberal Parties in Western Europe, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

⁷⁶ Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2000), “The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration”, op. cit., p. 454

⁷⁷ Mudde, C., (2000), The Ideology of the Extreme Right, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, p. 180. Although Mudde admits that all parties are nationalists, he considers that nationalism is not a sufficient category to describe the extreme right parties.

the national sovereignty. Nationalists' focuses on these aims create a very contentious international environment where the capacity for cooperation is limited.⁷⁸

Agrarian parties hold the estate as their identifying concept. In the nineteenth-century the notion of estate implied that the monarchy granted landowners special rights and privileges.⁷⁹ In the context of democratic mobilization the agrarian movements used the concept of estate to imply that landowners were entitled to institutionalized support by the state. Contrary to the concept of class, estate does not imply the self-consciousness of a common social identity, therefore agrarian parties do not *a priori* conceive of a political ethos.

Ecologist parties owe their identity to the conception of the ecological system as the primordial economic community. Ecologists are therefore sceptical of the methods and objectives of economic liberalism: economic growth through the mastery of nature.⁸⁰ Ecologists' political ethos is cosmopolitan and derives not only from the view that the ecological crisis has a global dimension, but also draws from the concept of universal justice at the core of peace movements from which several European ecologist parties derived from.

⁷⁸ Skotnicka-Illasiewicz, E. and Wesołowski, W. (1995), "The Significance of Preconceptions: Europe of Civil Societies and Europe of Nationalities" in Periwal, S., (ed.) Notions of Nationalism, Budapest: Central European University Press, p. 218.

⁷⁹ The notion of "estate" was the term used to describe a social group in XIX century Europe until it was replaced by the notion of class proposed by Marx and Engels. Pakulsi, J., (2001), "Class Paradigm and Politics" in Nichols Clarks, T. and Lipset, S.M. (eds.), The Breakdown of Class Politics, A Debate on Post-Industrial Stratification, Washington: Woodrow Wilson Press, p. 205

⁸⁰ Hayward, T., (1994), Ecological Thought: An Introduction, Oxford: Polity Press, pp. 23

Table 1. Party types' political and economic ethos

The dominant ethos is marked in bold.

	Political Conception of Community	Economic Conception of Community
Social democrats	Class based cosmopolitanism	Class. Compensate for the failures of market capitalism on a class basis
Christian democrats	Religious cosmopolitanism	Family. Compensate for the failures of market capitalism on a family and residual basis
Liberals	Civil society cosmopolitanism	Individuals. Acceptance of market capitalism.
Conservatives	Nation	Individuals. Accept market capitalism
Nationalists	Nation	Nation. Compensate for the failures of market capitalism on the basis of the nation
Agrarians	No <i>a priori</i> conception	Estate. Compensate for the failures of market capitalism on the basis of estate
Ecologists	Ecological system cosmopolitanism	Ecologic System. Compensate for the failures of market capitalism on the basis of the ecological system

Conceptualising strategies of competition:

Centrist parties

Party centripetalism is an office-seeking strategic behaviour with the objective of gaining office and retaining it throughout several elections. Centripetal parties choose a mode of moderate competition that implies a fight for the centre position in the axis, where the majority of the votes are cast, through the use of moderate propaganda tactics and consensual politics.⁸¹ Following Capoccia's classification of anti-system parties, I classify centripetalism as a behavioural concept, by separating ideology from behavioural strategic considerations.⁸² Centripetal parties are those that compete through the themes of the main axis of competition, adopt a pivotal role for coalition making, accept that role by another party and promote the values in which the political regime is founded. Centripetal parties are regime-builders and relational centrism is operationalised through a general evaluation of a party's coalition and propaganda strategy, rather than its location in the ideological space. In the event that this axis is not yet stable, centripetal parties are those shaping it. In cases where the party system is overcrowded with parties, and due to the exclusivity of office, a centripetal strategy implies that parties assume a pivotal role in the creation of large coalitions.

Other ways of classifying competitive party strategies stem from the proposition that ideologies can be the source of competition within a multi-party system. In these classifications parties are grouped through the content of their ideology and policy positions, and the degree of their ideological extremism is analyzed. Traditionally, anti-democratic

⁸¹ Downs, A. (1956), op. cit.; Daalder, H. (1984), "In Search of the Center of European Party Systems", American Political Science Review, 78(1): 92-109, p. 99.

ideologies were the touchstone of anti-systemic party stances.⁸³ However, the decline of explicitly anti-democratic ideologies like fascism and communism, and the difficulty in finding an uncontested definition of democracy, has meant that ideological anti-democracy is no longer a conceptual equivalent to an anti-system stance.⁸⁴

Polarising parties

Capoccia defines polarising parties through the disentanglement of Sartori's definition of anti-system parties, by downplaying the ideological aspects of the concept. Capoccia's more refined typology of parties' behaviour combines ideological and relational aspects of the concept and offers a new variant of anti-system party, the polarising party. Although not ideologically anti-systemic the polarising party is defined by its opposition to the party system centre. The assessment of relational anti-systemness is based on a general evaluation of a party's coalition and propaganda strategies, rather than its location in the ideological space.

A polarising party "adopts isolationist strategies, tends to build a separate pole of the system, refuses to enter coalitions (at the national level) and resorts to outbidding propaganda tactics, systematically opposing and discrediting some founding values of the regime, on which all other parties agree."⁸⁵ Contrary to the typical anti-system party, which combines location and ideological anti-systemness, i.e. an incompatibility with the democratic

⁸² Capoccia, G. (2002), "Anti-System Parties: A Conceptual Reassessment", *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 14(1): 9-36

⁸³ Sani, G. and Sartori, G. (1983), "Polarization, Fragmentation and Competition in Western Democracies" in Daalder, H. and Mair, P. (eds.), *Western European Party Systems, Competition and Change*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, p.307-40.

⁸⁴ Capoccia, G. (2002), op.cit.

⁸⁵ Capoccia, G. (2002), "Anti-System Parties, a Conceptual Reassessment", *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 14(1):9-36

ideological referents, the polarising party does not present a clear-cut opposition to democratic values.

A scale of party responses to European integration

Taggart and Szczerbiak define Hard Euroscepticism as the fundamental disagreement with the “entire project of European political and economic integration”. A party’s hard opposition to European integration is therefore tightly defined. In opposition, Soft Euroscepticism is defined as the “contingent or qualified opposition to European integration”,⁸⁶ i.e., it encompasses any type of criticism of the EU while not distinguishing between a positive and negative appraisal of European integration. In 2000, while attempting to refine the meaning of Soft Euroscepticism, the authors distinguished between “policy Euroscepticism” and “national interest Euroscepticism”, and consider that the two categories not only are not mutually exclusive but are also compatible with support for the European project.⁸⁷

Attempts to improve Taggart and Szczerbiak’s scale with a more precise definition of Soft Euroscepticism added a second dimension to the principled opposition to the EU by distinguishing between principled and functional support or opposition to the EU. While Kopecky and Mudde’s typology define this second dimension as the assessment of “the general practice of European integration”,⁸⁸ Conti’s scale defines functional attitudes as the compatibility between the national goals and European integration while principled attitudes

⁸⁶ Taggart, P. and Szczerbiak, A. (2001), “Parties, Positions and Europe: Euroscepticism in the Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe”, Paper Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Political Studies Association, 10-12 April, p.5-6

⁸⁷ Szczerbiak, A. and Taggart, P. (2000), “Opposing Europe: Party Systems and Opposition to the Union, the Euro and Europeanisation”, OERN Working Paper, 1, p. 7.

⁸⁸ Kopecky, P. and Mudde, C., (2001), “The Two Sides of Euroscepticism, Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe”, European Union Politics, 3(3): 297-326

result from a fundamental and unmediated support/opposition to the values of European integration.⁸⁹

My criticism of these scales is twofold. First, while Kopecky and Mudde's classification results in a typology that is unfit to be translated in a scale of a decided positive or negative evaluation of European integration, all the previous classifications follow the parties' attempts to hedge their fundamental opposition to integration by assimilating the party's distinction between values and practices of integration into a scale of European attitudes. Second, all these authors conceive the value of European integration as an unmediated good and assume the existence of a primordial European identity.

Considering this assumption unrealistic, I propose a scale of support and opposition that takes the nation-state as the primordial framework of identity of European elites and masses. Support for the EU is a function of the promotion of national goals.⁹⁰ The two fundamental attitudes, Euroscepticism and Europhilism, are defined as a perceived *a priori* incompatibility or congruence between the national interest and European integration. Borrowing from Taggart and Szczerbiak's terminology, a distinction between Hard and Soft positions nuances the categories. Soft indicates the placing of conditions on the fundamental and *a priori* relationship between national interest and European integration, and Hard indicates an unconditional support or opposition to European integration. A Soft Eurosceptic party deems that despite the *a priori* assumption of opposition between national interest and European integration, under certain conditions these could eventually coincide. By contrast, Soft Europhilism considers that the *a priori* correspondence between European integration and the national interest might be overridden by the non-fulfilment of certain conditions by the EU.

⁸⁹ Conti, N. (2003), "Party Attitudes to European Integration: A Longitudinal Analysis of the Italian Case", EPERN Working Paper, 13.

⁹⁰ This assumption is substantiated by Eurobarometer data showing that support for the EU is closely related to citizens' perceived benefits for furthering domestic interests. Richard Bellamy and Alex Warleigh, *Citizenship and Governance in the European Union*, (London, New York: Continuum, 2001).

Party's ethos as determinants of positions on European integration

A scale of party response to European integration

The definition of Euroscepticism and Europhilism here adopted as the basis of a scale of positions on European integration reflects the idea that parties evaluate the EU based on their original identity framework, the nation state, where they are established institutionally and in terms of identity.⁹¹ Support for the EU is a function of the promotion of the national interest, defined by each party according to its identifying concept. The decisive difference between a party that supports and one that opposes European integration is the perceived *a priori* congruence between the national interest and European integration. Eurosceptic parties perceive European integration as *a priori* incompatible with the national interest.

Euroscepticism and Europhilia are qualified, according to Taggart and Szczerbiak's distinction, between conditional and unconditional, or soft and hard, stances on Europe.⁹² A soft Eurosceptic party considers that despite the opposition between the national interest and European integration, under certain conditions the two may coincide. In contrast, hard Euroscepticism is an unconditional opposition to integration. Soft Europhilia admits that if the EU does not fulfil certain conditions, European integration will clash with the national interest. Hard Europhilia is an unconditional support for integration. Parties holding soft,

⁹¹ This is congruent with the finding that the national framework remains the primary identity at elite and mass level, as in Richard Bellamy and Alex Warleigh, *Citizenship and Governance in the European Union* (London, New York: Continuum, 2001).

⁹² Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak, 'Parties, Positions and Europe: Euroscepticism in the Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe,' Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Political Studies Association 10-12 April (2001). p. 5-6.

conditional stances, will be more prone to revise them, whereas hard stances are more resistant to change.

Our basic argument is as follows: parties evaluate the EU based on the concepts of political and economic communities at the core of their ideology. The political and economic dimensions vary in salience across party types. While the economic dimension drives the social democrats positioning on European integration, the Christian democrats' political conception determines their evaluation of Europe. In addition, political and economic responses to European integration differ in nature. Indivisible political concepts, at the core of Christian democrats or nationalists' identities, provide the foundation of an unconditional evaluation of the EU. Therefore, parties based on political conceptions do not change their attitudes. Parties based on economic conceptions will do so if they modify their evaluation of the EU's economic regime.

Right-wing Euroscepticism is a European-wide phenomenon, but in Poland right-wing parties show an unusual propensity for opposing integration. The persistence and increased importance of nationalism in Poland, which has prevented the development of a strong Christian democratic party, effectively explains the levels and persistence of Euroscepticism on the right. Although the fluidity of the Polish party system challenges its suitability for testing ideological hypotheses, Polish new parties, despite their short-term existence, inherit rather than create a new identity, which suggests an underlying ideological continuity qualifying Polish parties to illustrate the three hypotheses below:

1. That a party identified by a political concept bears an unconditional attitude towards European integration – hard Euroscepticism or hard Europhilia (H1).
2. That a party identified by an economic concept bears a conditional attitude towards European integration - soft Euroscepticism or soft Europhilia (H2).
- 2.1. That when the secondary political concept reinforces the economic evaluation of integration, a party's conditional attitude turns unconditional – hard Euroscepticism or hard Europhilia (H2.1).

The first hypothesis proposes that political evaluations of integration give rise to unqualified attitudes of support or opposition that are stable over the long-term. As scholars of

European integration have long argued, the chief consequence of European integration is the weakening of the authority of the nation-state. The degree of political authority granted to a non-state, the EU, puts into question the supremacy of the nation-state model as the basis of political identity. These parties thus consider European supranational democracy and governance unconditionally *a priori*, as for or against the national interest, despite their considerations of the EU in economic terms.

Hypothesis 2 states that if an economic concept is a party's identifying community, its appreciation of integration depends on whether this party sees the EU as detrimental or beneficial to achieving its main goal. Economic concepts are divisible and quantifiable; therefore, an economic appreciation of integration is conditional, since one can conceive to approximate an economic regime by degrees. As the impact of the EU policy regimes on the national economic regime varies from country to country, differences in the evaluation of the single market also exists among parties sharing the same identifying element. Moreover, since the regulation of the single market according to a liberal or a social democratic model, is an open question,⁹³ a party can alter its appreciation of European economic integration over time, thus responding to the evolution of a specific EU policy regime.⁹⁴

Hypothesis 2.1 asserts that if a secondary nationalist conception of the political community corroborates a negative economic evaluation of Europe, it will reinforce a party's Euroscepticism, turning its opposition to the EU unconditional and permanent (i.e., hard Euroscepticism). Likewise, if a cosmopolitan political stance corroborates a positive economic evaluation of integration the party's stance will harden in the opposite direction, (i.e. hard

93 Giandomenico Majone, *Regulating Europe* (London: Routledge, 1996).; Fritz Scharpf, "Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of the European Welfare States," *Governance in the European Union*, eds. Gary Marks, Fritz Scharpf, Philip Schmitter and Wolfgang Streeck (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

94 This hypothesis is identical to the cleavage theory spelled by Marks and Wilson, 'The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration.'

Europhilia), and the party will be a stable supporter of integration. Table 2 summarizes the argument and applies it to party types.

Party responses to European integration.

The use of the ethos concept to understand a party response to European integration is spelled in this table.

Table 2. Party responses to European integration, accounting for different evaluations of economic integration.

	Unfavourable European Policy Regimes	Favourable European Policy Regimes
Social Democrats	Soft Euroscepticism	Hard Europhilism
Christian democrats	Hard Europhilism	Hard Europhilism
Liberals	Soft Euroscepticism	Hard Europhilism
Conservatives	Hard Euroscepticism	Soft Europhilism
Agrarians	Euroscepticism	Europhilism
Nationalists	Hard Euroscepticism	Hard Euroscepticism
Ecologists	Soft Europhilism	Hard Europhilism

The placement of liberal parties on the scale of European attitudes is decided by the parties' evaluation of economic integration. If the Single Market is seen as promoting market liberalism, liberals are Europhiles. However, when conceiving the EU's regulatory role as impeding the good functioning of the free market, liberals will be Soft Eurosceptics. The liberals' cosmopolitanism is derived from the idea that individuals should be free to associate, and that civil society is the basis of political legitimacy. Liberals' cosmopolitanism, as a second order factor, determines that their Euroscepticism is Soft and their Europhilism unconditional.

As a mirror image of the liberals, the social democrats' placement on either side of the scale of support to the EU is determined by their conception of economic class as the fundamental element of identity. Social democrats are permanently engaged with the elimination of differences among classes by counteracting inequalities stemming from

positions in the labour market.⁹⁵ Whenever a social democratic party perceives the EU as a market opening enterprise which undermines the redistributive role of the state, social democrats are Eurosceptic. If the EU is seen as the promoter of regulated capitalism, social democrats become supporters of integration. The social democrats' class-based political cosmopolitanism, being a secondary element in the political identity of these parties can lead them to adopt a conditional scepticism or an unconditional Europhilism.

Agrarians and ecologists have also tended to favour European regulatory policies, but their definition of the EU's desirable policy regime is more limited than that of social democrats. Agrarian parties will be Europhile if they consider that European integration fosters the protection of farmers and Eurosceptic if European integration is considered as harming the protection of farmers. Therefore, by extending the CAP provisions to the new states of the EU has been the condition of the Central and East European Agrarian parties' support for European integration. Since Agrarians have no determined political identity, the definition of their political ethos will depend on the circumstances of their mobilisation. Ecologists are Hard Europhiles if EU-harmonised environmental standards are perceived as more restrictive than the national environmental standards.

Since conservative parties are not *a priori* determined by economic liberalism or political nationalism,⁹⁶ conservatives are the parties with the widest range of attitudes on the EU. The conservatives' attitudes towards European integration are not only dependent on which economic regime the EU is seen as promoting, but also on which faction predominates within the party. If nationalism is the party's structuring value, conservatives will be Hard Eurosceptics. If the party identity is dominated by economic liberalism it will define its position

⁹⁵ Evelyne Huber, Charles C. Ragin and John D. Stephens, "Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure and the Welfare State", *American Journal of Sociology*, 99 (1993), 73-111.

⁹⁶ The two types of conservatism, the liberal conservatism and the national conservatism, result from the accent being put in one dimension of identity. Nonetheless, the accent can be changed over time, as a way to adapt to political transformations. Girvin, B. (1998), "The Transformation of Contemporary Conservatism" in Girvin, B. (ed.), The Transformation of Contemporary Conservatism, London: Sage, p.9; Smith, G., "Between Left and Right: The Ambiguity of European Liberalism", p.23.

based on an evaluation of the EU as a market liberalising agent, and normally adopt Soft Europhilism.

Christian democratic and nationalist parties are largely immune to evaluations of the European integration's impact on domestic economic regimes. Christian democracy unconditionally supports integration. The reluctance of the Catholic Church's social doctrine to accept the nation as the ultimate political community led Christian democrats to promote staunchly European integration in the post World War II period, and ever since Christian democrats have been the most consistent Hard Europhiles. The nationalists' belief in the nation as the basic political community determines the *priori* opposition between the parties' perception of national interest and European integration, unless the EU's governance reverts to an intergovernmental mode. Nationalists have therefore considered European integration as unconditionally incompatible with the national interest.

Parties' preferences concerning European integration

From the analytical framework presented above, I derive parties' preferences on the course of European integration. These preferences are drawn from the set of goals constituting each party's ethos. Therefore, a party is likely to support the EU if the Union develops features that help the party to attain its fundamental goals. The table below summarises each party preferences for the development of European integration.

The present theory also explains why parties whose identities rely primarily on political values are more entrenched in their European positions. The supranational character of European integration is its intrinsic feature, and more political integration will not substantially change the supranational character of the EU. The unquantifiable and immutable nature of a political concept makes its reinterpretation difficult. The immutability of both the nature of political integration and the party's political ethos makes the European positions of these parties both unconditional and irreversible.

Economic evaluations of European integration are also both sufficient and necessary conditions for parties whose identity is based on economic values. However, the hardening or softening of these positions will be determined by the political ethos of the party. While parties might base their Europhilism or Euroscepticism on the compatibility of the EU

economic regime with a party's economic values, this attitude will be conditional or unqualified depending on the party's political ethos. The column on economic conditions for European integration also shows that economic attitudes can more easily change since these depend on the development of the EU's policy regimes, and not on the EU's political nature.

Table 3. Parties' preferences concerning European integration

	Political Preferences	Economic Preferences
Christian Democrats	European supranational integration	Policy regimes favouring mild regulated capitalism
Liberals	European supranational Integration	Achieving the single market European neo-liberal capitalism
National conservatives	Inexistent	Inexistent
Economic conservatives	Low level of supranational integration	Achieving the single market European neo-liberal capitalism
Nationalists	Inexistent	Inexistent
Social democrats	Supranational integration in support for European market regulation	European Regulated Capitalism; Fiscal coordination
Ecologists	Supranational Integration	Policy regimes providing a high level of environmental protection

Interactions between ideology, European positions and core formation

The troubles caused by nationalism and euroscepticism in a forming core: heightening fundamental ideological divisions and the European issue strengthening divisions among liberals, christian democrats and nationalists, making the formation of a unified centre right harder to attain.

Methodology

Progress in finding the causes of parties' European attitudes has been mainly achieved through empirical enquiry.⁹⁷ The determination of the causes of parties' European attitudes has so far largely turned to one or a handful of individual case-studies or has used variable-oriented statistical analysis. While the case-oriented analysis are weak on external validity, variable-oriented analysis fail to take into account multiple or conjunctural causation, i.e., when recurrent events may be caused by any of several circumstances or combinations of circumstances. Theoretical disagreement between proponents of strategic and ideological explanations has also been linked to the choice of methods. When variable-oriented methodological approaches have been chosen, the hypotheses were tested in a way as to be pitched against each other.

⁹⁷ Marks, G. Hooghe, L. and Wilson, C. (2002), "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", Comparative Political Studies, 35(8); Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30(3): 433-460 ; Taggart, P. and Szczerbiak, A. (2001), "Crossing Europe: Patterns of Contemporary Party-Based Euroscepticism in EU Member States and the Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe", Paper Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Attempting to overcome this tendency, I adopt the logic of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) to approach the testing of the theoretical propositions advanced above. This methodology was developed by Charles Ragin to deal with causal heterogeneity while using small numbers of cases.⁹⁸ This method allows surmounting the divisions between case-oriented and variable-oriented research by treating cases as configurations of theoretically relevant combinations of features. QCA is used both in the theory-building process and in theory-testing since it focuses not so much on discarding causes as weak explanations, but on attempting to establish which combinations of causes and which single causes are sufficient or necessary to determine causality.

Basic to Qualitative Comparative Analysis are the logic of qualitative comparison systematized by Mill, termed the methods of agreement and of difference.⁹⁹ Mill's method of agreement is the search for a single common condition among cases having the same outcome. Such conditions can be relevant to a discussion of necessity. The method of difference is the search for a single distinguishing feature among cases disagreeing on the outcome – i.e., experimental design. While both may be important to the discovery of connections between phenomena, only the method of difference is reliable for substantiating causality.

The main new element provided by QCA is set-theoretic algebra, which provides the formalisation required to apply Mill's logic reliably. The original formulation of QCA uses crisp (or Boolean) sets, implying that cases are either inside or outside a given category. The QCA makes possible a dialogue between the theory and the data, leading to conceptual clarification and adjustment by connecting the features of a single case with the patterns displayed across cases. QCA is therefore a method that serves well the purpose of theory building, since it helps to adjust one's propositions of causality.

⁹⁸ Charles C. Ragin, *The Comparative Method : Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987)..

⁹⁹ Ragin, C. (1987), discussion in page 36-42.

Ragin's 1987 book also launched the first serious debate about causal necessity and sufficiency, as well as making it possible to identify the so-called "chemical reaction", i.e., identify when variables lead to an outcome only when in each other's presence. The first step in the theory-building exercise is the putting forward of theoretically-based propositions about necessary and dependent conditions. Factors which are either present or absent for all cases with a given outcome may, if corroborated by other knowledge, be considered relevant to claims about necessary conditions for that outcome.¹⁰⁰ Propositions about sufficient conditions can be explored by identifying causal configurations which are present for at least one case with that outcome but in none of the cases with a different outcome.¹⁰¹ A further step is to identify theoretically interesting dichotomies of variables and identify cases that can be analysed.

The empirical material

The party ethos is a qualitative and discreet category that can be judged from the analysis of party documents. The basic concepts determining the fundamental ideological setup of a party can be deduced from the analysis of party documents, in particular those produced in the early times of their formation. Naturally, it is in founding declarations that parties define their identity, and these are the primary sources of party ethos. When parties do not produce a founding declaration the party's first election manifesto tends to replace it and spell out the party's positioning in the ideological space. When the reassessment of a party's identity takes place, for example with changes of leadership or critical congresses, parties also tend to produce documents in which they reaffirm their identity. Party congresses

¹⁰⁰ Ragin, C. (1987), p. 93.

¹⁰¹ Probabilistic procedures can be introduced: a causal configuration can be 'almost always' or 'usually' necessary for a given outcome.

documents, election manifestoes and other publications are therefore also part of the empirical material of this thesis.

A liberal attitude to the choice of party material therefore implies a break with the rules set out by the European Party Manifesto Project. The Manifesto Project defines as usable party manifestos and platforms those that are a “recognizable statement of policy which has the backing of the leadership as the authoritative definition of party policy for that election”.¹⁰² This implies that only programs, platforms and other documents that are produced immediately preceding the election are legitimate empirical material.¹⁰³ Following Harmel and Janda’s criticism to the Manifesto Programme I use a wide range of party documents, press analysis and interviews to determine a party’s ethos, its strategies and positioning on the Europhile-Eurosceptic axis.¹⁰⁴ “The Manifesto data themselves are not very useful for establishing the party’s actual positions on any of the issues that together constitute its issue profile (...) or at least not precisely enough to be useful in studying changes in issues positions.”¹⁰⁵

To determine the concept defining the parties’ political and economic community (and not only the relative intensity of the party positions) a judgemental approach to the data was chosen. Party documents, interviews and press were then organised so as to justify the classification of parties’ ethos. Since parties exist in a historical context, the analytical narrative appeared to be the best way to present party material and depict the evolution of parties’ ethos and strategies while exposing its qualitative context.¹⁰⁶ To gather the contextual understanding of parties’ ideological definition I conducted interviews with members of the

¹⁰² Budge, I. et al. (1986), “Policy, Ideology and Party Distance: Analysis of Election Programs in 19 Democracies”, Legislative Studies Quarterly, 11(4): 607-617.

¹⁰³ Budge, I. et. al. (1987), Ideology, Strategy and Party Change: Spatial Analysis of Post-War Election Programs in Nineteen Democracies, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.17.

¹⁰⁴ Janda, K. Harmel, R. Edens, C. and Goff, P. (1995), “Changes in Party Identity: Evidence from Party Manifestos”, Party Politics, 1(2): 171-196, p.176.

¹⁰⁵ idem, p.176.

¹⁰⁶ Bates, R. et al. (1998), Analytical Narratives, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

leadership of the main parties and carried out a survey of the main newspapers and news services. Being more flexible than discourse analysis or any quantitative methods, the analytical narrative integrates the evolutions of ethos and strategies with the evolution of parties' creation, mergers, splits and demise, all being relevant to determining the causes of parties' attitudes towards European integration.

Classification Criteria

There are three generally accepted party classification criteria: programmatic identities, "issue positions" and membership in international parties' organisations.¹⁰⁷ The first criterion refers to a categorisation that presupposes that parties can have a similar "genetic code" emanating from the circumstances of their birth or from the intention of representing similar interests. Programmatic identities refer to the normative propositions of a programme; they are about general values. The method of issue positions or policy similarity categorises parties according to the similarity between the policies pursued by one party to those pursued by another party. The third method of classification, through cross-border organisational linkages, became more relevant in Europe after the creation of party groups in the European Parliament.

The present classification follows the method of programmatic identities; classifying parties according to their organisational linkages appears inappropriate as international linkages are created frequently for instrumental purposes rather than to reflect parties' values and policy positions. The fact that the European party groups have tended to sacrifice their identity in order to increase their power in the European Parliament¹⁰⁸ shows

¹⁰⁷ Gallagher, M. Laver, M. and Mair, P. (1992), Representative Government in Modern Europe, New York McGraw-Hill, p.181.

¹⁰⁸ Hix, S. and Lord, C. (1997), Political Parties in the European Union, London: MacMillan Press, p. 25-7.

that the membership in a party group can be misleading in indicating what individual parties stand for.

Since the theoretical framework relies on an abstract level of ideology, the party ethos, as an explanation for party's European choices, Polish parties are classified through the criterion of programmatic identity. Despite the constant flux of the Polish party scene and the de-consolidated nature of parties' organisations¹⁰⁹ ideological identities appear remarkably constant. Following the demise of a party it is very common that another organisation appears to take its ideological space. This indicates a rather strongly consolidated ideological space. Therefore it appears pertinent to classify Polish parties according to their positioning in the ideological space, i.e., through their self-definition of the political and economic communities. In cases where the consolidation of an identity is not achieved or a previously agreed identity is under threat I point to the divergent factions' definitions of the political and economic identities.

Case Selection

The focus on the Polish case, a whole party spectrum, the strategic variables can be understood in the context of the party system, on the interaction between the variables and its impact on the party system. Within the Dmowskist interwar tradition, when nationalism was often justified in religious terms, Polish conservative and nationalist parties referred almost obligatorily to Catholic moral values as part of the definition of national identity.¹¹⁰ The Polish party system the political dimension structures party competition. Polish parties can be clearly distinguished between those based on political and those based on economic values. This sharp division is visible in that those parties based on political or economic issues dedicate

¹⁰⁹ Kitschelt, H. et. al. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems, Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 211.

¹¹⁰ Walicki, A. (2000), "The Troubling Legacy of Roman Dmowski", East European Politics and Societies, 14(1): 12-46.

their political documents almost exclusively to issues of that nature. This makes its analysis very rich in insights on the kind of conflicts caused by European integration in such party systems. The strength of nationalism as a political identity, and the way Polish ideological inheritance mixes nationalism and Catholicism, makes Poland an extreme case illustrating the interaction between nationalism and European integration,.¹¹¹

It is important to note that the conclusions on the level of party system are limited to cases with resembling background conditions, i.e., the mobilisation of nationalism. In party systems where economic issues structure party competition, nationalism is less prone to be a sufficient condition for Euroscepticism and disrupt the building up of centrist coalitions,. In countries where nationalism is absent or very weak, other effects, like economic opposition to integration, can emerge as an important cause of Euroscepticism. There are, however, indications that this background condition is becoming more common, not only in Central and Eastern Europe, but also in Western Europe.

¹¹¹ For a classification of possible choices of cases see Flyvbjerg, B. Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Enquiry Fails and How it can Count Again, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.204.

Chapter III Explaining right-wing European attitudes

This chapter maps the development of right-wing parties in Poland over a period of fifteen years, from 1989 to 2005. It describes the several stages of party ideological formation over five legislative elections, classifying them according to their core ideologies, strategy of competition, as well as tracing their European stances. During the period under investigation the Polish right-wing underwent sweeping changes, from a period of extreme fragmentation culminating in the 1991 elections (when 29 parties entered parliament), to a period of bipolar competition between 1997 and 2001. The gradual consolidation of the party system up to the 2001 elections was then partially reversed.

The evolution of the right-wing party spectrum can be understood as a series of attempts to find a common denominator that could serve as a basis of identity to a party occupying the centre right space. Such efforts were made against the backdrop of Solidarity's dissolution, and the necessity to reconcile different ideological traditions within it. The chapter uses extensive empirical evidence to describe the formation and demise of political parties on the right of the political spectrum. Despite the volatility of party organisations among nationalists, the nationalist ideology, particularly its Catholic national version, has proven the most enduring. The predominance of national Catholicism inhibited the 1991-1993 and in 1997-2001 attempts to create a Christian democratic party based on cosmopolitan religiosity.

The resilience of nationalism also contrasts with the decline and failure of political liberalism to survive as a significant ideology on the centre-right. After the 2001 elections the supremacy of nationalism as a party identity is defied only by economic neo-liberalism, with a nationalist and liberal conservative party occupying a divided centre-right space. The change of the right-wing party scene in 2001 resulted in the demise of Christian democrats and political liberals, and its replacement by conservative parties primarily or secondarily identified by nationalism and liberalism.

The chapter assesses the impact of the identifying dimension on a party response to the European issue, investigating whether the Polish right-wing parties' identifying ideological dimensions drive their positions on European integration. Distinguishing parties based on

economic concepts, that respond conditionally to European integration, from those identified by political issues, that respond to integration in an unconditional manner, seems particularly useful in the Polish case, due to the predominance of political concepts as identifying elements of the Polish right-wing.

Stages of Polish relationship with the European Union

Polish integration in the EU went through several stages. As time went by and accession became an increasingly concrete prospect, the process became an exercise of legislative transposition and of negotiating the terms of accession. The Commission became the monitoring body of the candidate states' progress in fulfilling the EU's conditions. One can therefore identify the formal stages of Polish relationship with the EU based on the degree of commitment and conditionality of the EU.

The first stage of Polish relations with the EU lasted from the first elections in August 1989 to the ratification of the Europe Agreements in early March 1992. During this phase the EU did not make any formal commitment to the eventual integration of Poland and the relation between the two parties was to a great extent still open. The second phase was initiated by the ratification of the Europe Agreements and the first clear statement of EU commitment to the integration of Poland, which took place in the 1993 Copenhagen Council. The third stage started with the EU's decision to open negotiations with seven of the accession countries in September 1997. This third phase was characterised by strong conditionality and the EU becoming an important issue of domestic politics. The last phase started with the ratification of the accession treaty in May 2004 and full integration of Poland in the European institutions.

The changing institutional context of Polish relations with the EU saw the replacement of the symbolic clout of Europe by a more concrete assessment of its real-life implications. This had a strong impact on Polish public evaluation of accession. As the end of the millennium approached public support strongly declined.

First Phase: from 1989 to the Europe Agreements

The 1989 elections initiated the first phase of Polish relations with the EU. Taken by surprise by the fall of communism in the Soviet satellite states, Western leaders answered with a mixture of grand rhetoric and considerable caution regarding the future shape of the European order. For two years Poland and the other Central European states were eager to obtain security guarantees from the West, but the European institutions and Member States were not prepared to promise future membership of the Western institutions. Despite the rhetoric of the West European leaders, it took considerable effort for the EU to concede to further economic and trade relations with Poland and the other Central and Eastern European democracies.

On 19 September 1989 Poland signed the agreement for trade co-operation with the (then) European Community (EC). That agreement was not only the basis for further relations but also a starting point for future negotiations on the subject of association with the EC. Such an intention was expressed by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in his speech in the European Parliament in February 1990. On 19 May 1990 Poland officially applied to start negotiations for an association agreement which subsequently started in December 1990. In June 1991 Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski declared in the Polish Parliament that Poland was determined to become a member of the European Community. Financial assistance was then provided through the Poland and Hungary Aid for Reconstruction in Europe (PHARE) programme, and help was targeted at helping Poland and Hungary make the transition to market economy.

In the early nineties "Europe" was the political myth driving the transformation of the country. Public support for integration was almost unanimous, and accession to the EU was synonymous with democracy and market economy.

Second Phase: from the ratification of the Europe Agreements (1992) to the opening of negotiations.

Signed in December 1991, the trade parts of the Europe Agreements were ratified in March 1992. They were a bilateral agreement between the member states and the

EU, on one side, and Poland, on the other side.¹¹² Despite their political provisions (there is a title on political dialogue as well as one on cultural, economic and financial cooperation), the Europe Agreements were fundamentally a free trade agreement in which the trade barriers to imports from the Central and Eastern European countries (CEEC) were to be eliminated earlier than the imports from the EU to the CEEC. They foresaw a gradual opening over 10 years resulting in a free trade zone. The Agreements also foresaw anti-dumping measures and provisions on state aid and established the creation of Association Councils to regularly control the implementation of legislation.

However, to the dismay of the Polish political elite, the Agreements substantially limited free trade to industrial products, while trade in services and agriculture was subject to strong restrictions. The restrictions to trade in agriculture were particularly badly taken by Poland as the EU appeared oblivious to the economic crisis caused by shock therapy and did nothing to mitigate some of its effects by opening its market to Polish agriculture and steel products.¹¹³ The first Polish experience of negotiations with the EU was therefore marked by a strong protectionist attitude by the EU member states that seriously hampered the development of a cooperative spirit between the negotiating parties.¹¹⁴ The Europe Agreements were also modest in political terms, establishing only a limited form of political cooperation.

It was only at the Copenhagen European Council of 1993 that membership was acknowledged as the goal of the integration process.¹¹⁵ The Copenhagen Council also established the basic criteria for membership of the EU. The first set of criteria concerns the establishment of stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights

¹¹² Europe Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Poland, Official Journal of the European Union, L 348 , 31/12/1993.

¹¹³ Sharman, J. (2003), "Agrarian Politics in Eastern Europe in the Shadow of EU Accession", European Union Politics, 4(4): 447-471.

¹¹⁴ Mayhew, A. (1998), Recreating Europe: The European Union's Policy Towards Central and Eastern Europe, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press.

and respect for and protection of minorities, the second a functioning market economy and third the preparedness of the EU for enlargement.¹¹⁶ The conditions were designed to minimize the risk of new entrants becoming politically unstable and economically burdensome to the EU, and to ensure that the countries joining were ready to meet all the EU rules, with only minimal and temporary exceptions.

After Poland officially became a candidate state in 1994, its relations with the EU changed significantly. The EU became referee as well as player in the accession process. Since all three Copenhagen criteria are very broad and open to considerable interpretation, they were translated into detail during the negotiations, creating the perception that criteria for accession were a moving target. During this phase the Commission became the central institutional interlocutor for Poland and the other candidate states. While the EU set the criteria, the Commission “put flesh on the bones” by determining their more precise content.¹¹⁷ For example, in 1995 the Commission issued a White Paper on the Single Market, which outlined primary and secondary tasks and provided a hierarchy of the large number of tasks implied by its conditions. As arbiter of the Copenhagen criteria, the Commission also gained further powers in its relationship with the candidate states. This meant that the Polish political elite had a subordinate relationship with a technical and bureaucratic body with the power to determine policy outcomes.¹¹⁸

During this phase public support for European integration remained substantially high, with 77 percent of the population supporting accession in June 1994 (the year that Poland formally submitted its application). Support peaked at 80 percent in May 1995.

¹¹⁵ Copenhagen European Council Presidency Conclusions, December 1993.

¹¹⁶ So-called “Copenhagen criteria”.

¹¹⁷ Grabbe, H. (2002), “European Union Conditionality and the Acquis Communautaire”, International Political Science Review, 23(3): 249-268.

¹¹⁸ Grabbe, H. (2002), “European Union Conditionality and the Acquis Communautaire”, International Political Science Review, 23(3): 249-268.

Third phase: the accession negotiations

Another formal stage of Poland's relations with the EU started with the Luxembourg European Council in December 1997, where the member states accepted the Commission's opinion to invite five states to start accession talks.¹¹⁹ The negotiation process started on 31 March 1998, when the first sitting of the International Accession Conference took place. After the meeting, screening sessions began to determine the extent to which Polish law was in accordance with community law, followed by the two parties developing position papers for each issue.

The negotiations for accession were characterised by tightened surveillance of the progress of candidate states by the Commission. The Accession Partnerships were created to monitor progress, and provided a direct lever on policy-making by setting out a list of policy priorities.¹²⁰ The Commission then reported on applicants' progress in meeting each priority every autumn, laying down short- and medium-term priorities in each issue area, thus providing a clear ranking to guide allocation of resources in applying the Copenhagen conditions.

The opening of negotiations also implied reorientation of the PHARE programme to focus on pre-accession priorities.¹²¹ The whole relationship of Poland with the EU thus became focused on preparing for accession. PHARE was now a strategic and financial instrument for preparing for accession, its chief aim being to prepare candidate state administrations to absorb Structural Funds after accession.

¹¹⁹ Luxembourg European Council Presidency Conclusions, 11-12 December 1997, http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm.

¹²⁰ Grabbe, H. (2002), "European Union Conditionality and the Acquis Communautaire", op. cit.

¹²¹ Bailey, D. and de Proppis, L. (2004), "A Bridge Too PHARE? EU Pre-Accession Aid and Capacity Building in the Candidate States", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 42(1): 77-98

The dynamics of EU accession were altered in 2000 after the Helsinki European Council (December 1999) endorsed a change in accession conditionality.¹²² Countries moved at different speeds within the negotiation process, no longer opening the same negotiating chapters around the same time but rather following their progress in implementing the *acquis*, as judged by the Commission. This principle of differentiation meant that the better-prepared countries could move faster through the chapters of the *acquis* than their slower neighbours. countries that started negotiations later were even able to overtake candidates from the first group that fell behind.

The differentiation between candidates had an important impact on Polish-EU relations. In early 2000, after the Commission had issued an unfavourable report in the autumn of the previous year, the Polish press made failure of the government to implement legislation an important political issue. The immediate and visible results that unfavourable reports by the Commission had in closing negotiating chapters became a chief liability of the AWS government. Governments had to strike a balance between appearing to protect the national interest in the negotiations and efficiently managing the legislative transposition.

Obviously, certain negotiation chapters were subject to stricter public and political scrutiny than others. Of particular sensitivity were those relating to agriculture and the free movement of labour. Informal negotiation linkages emerged between the transition period on land acquisition by foreigners and the transition period on the freedom of labour, creating a conundrum only solved by the change of negotiation position brought by the new government after 2001. Being the most controversial, the agricultural chapter was negotiated last. The drama intensified as the Commission announced in January 2002 that farmers in candidate states would not receive full agricultural subsidies for the first nine years of membership and would initially be paid only 25 percent of what farmers in members states received in direct payments in the first year, increasing incrementally in the following years. This not only

¹²² Helsinki European Council Presidency Conclusions, 10-11 December 1999, in http://europa.eu.int/council/off/conclu/dec99/dec99_en.htm.

violated the principles set by the government but also emerged as a touchstone issue during the negotiations endgame, only being resolved during the Copenhagen Summit in late 2002. The settlement on agricultural subsidies resulted in a mixed subsidy system in which higher production-based grants would only be given to farmers whose products are subsidized within the EU.

During the period in which the negotiations progressed the opinion polls observed a decline in public support for integration to 55 percent in March 2002. Simultaneously, a significant segment of anti-EU opinion began to emerge with the number of opponents increasing from only 6 percent in 1994 to 29 percent in 2002. Polish public opinion seems to have interpreted the conditionality inherent in the negotiations as a sign of an unequal relationship between Poland and the EU. For example, several surveys found that 60 percent of Poles (including 50 percent of those who supported Polish EU membership) believed that the country would be a second class member when it joined the EU, while only 30 percent thought that it would join with full membership rights.¹²³ Also, in the late nineties, as the government pressed the EU for an “accession date”, public support for an “as fast as possible” accession declined.¹²⁴

Taking opinion polls at face value, saliency of the European issue for Polish voters was, as for other European voters, relatively low. For example, a July 2001 Pracownia Badań Społecznych (PBS) survey found that only 4 percent of respondents cited EU membership as one of the issues that would have the greatest impact in determining which grouping they would support, coming in seventh (last) place.¹²⁵ Similarly, a July 2001 Pentor survey found that, when asked which three election issues were important to them, only 7

¹²³ CBOS, “Stosunek do Integracji Polski z Unią Europejską po Ogłoszeniu Nowego Stanowiska Negocjacyjnego” (The State of Polish integration with the European Union after the Announcement of the New Negotiation Positions), CBOS Komunikat z Badań, November 2002 and CBOS, “Opinie o Integracji z Unią Europejską”, (Opinion on the Integration in the European Union), CBOS Komunikat z Badań, February 2001

¹²⁴ CBOS, “Czy Warto Przystąpić do Unii Europejskiej – Plusy i Minusy Integracji” (Is it Worth to Accede to the European Union – Plus and Minus of Integration), CBOS Komunikat z Badań, October 1997

¹²⁵ “Liderzy niewa ni”, Rzeczpospolita, 20 July 2001.

percent chose EU membership.¹²⁶ However, despite the low salience attributed to the European issue by respondents in the opinion polls, some authors argue that the European issue was in the 2001 elections a proxy of other issues, and party European attitude has determined voters' sympathies towards right-wing parties.¹²⁷

Fourth phase: the end of the negotiations, the European Constitution and accession

Poland, together with the other candidate countries, completed accession negotiations at the Copenhagen Summit in December 2002 and the Accession Treaty was signed in Athens in April 2003. In May 2004, fifteen years after breaking free from communist rule, Poland became a full member of the EU. By the time of accession the EU was a different institution from the one Poland first applied to in 1992. The conditions of membership, i.e., participating in the decision-making process of the future Union had already been shared with Poland, when during 2002 and 2003 it was asked to participate in the European Convention to prepare the Constitutional Treaty. In the midst of adverse popular opinion, the Polish government accepted a compromise that would unblock the deadlock in European negotiations. This happened at the December 2003 EU Summit, when against the majority of the public opinion and all opposition parties, the Polish government accepted revision of the previously acquired voting rights at the Nice Intergovernmental Conference for a voting formula that took into account a double majority and appeared to leave Poland less control over the legislative outcomes at the Council of Ministers. The membership of Poland in the EU altered fundamentally its status and eliminated the perceived asymmetry of the power relations between the EU and Poland, giving the latter a sense that it could exert influence, and not only to obey to the will of the European institutions.

¹²⁶ Mazur, B. "Partia niespodzianek." Wprost. 19 August 2001 and Zagrodzka, D. "Teraz albo wcale." Gazeta Wyborcza. 30 October 2001.

The accession to the EU, the discussions on the European Constitution, the referendum on accession and the elections for the European Parliament did not affect the level of public support for EU membership. Opinion polls showed this to remain stable at around 55-60 percent while the level of opposition remained at around 25 percent.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Markowski, R. et. al. (2003), "The New Polish 'Right'", Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Studies, 29(2): 1-23

¹²⁸ CBOS, "Opinie o Integracji w Przeddzień Rozszerzenia Unii Europejskiej", (Opinion on Integration in the Last Days Before the Enlargement of the European Union), CBOS Komunikat z Badań, May 2004

Christian democracy

Christian democratic parties are carriers of the idea that Christians, independently of their nationality, are the fundamental political community. The autonomy of confessional leaders from the church hierarchy was a necessary condition for Christian democratic parties' formation in the XIX century.¹²⁹ However, until World War II, Christian political action was mainly about defending the privileges of the church in response to attacks from socialists and liberals.¹³⁰

In the post II World War, when Christian democracy replaced nationalist parties in several European countries, Christian democratic parties distanced from their respective churches and stated that no specific political programme, particularly in the economic sphere, could be derived from the Christian faith. However, a tension remained between the parties' autonomy as political actors and the preservation of their confessional character. In order to solve this dilemma Christian democrats redefined their confessional nature in a way that did not discard Catholicism but contested the Catholic Church's monopoly of religious interpretation while embracing liberal democracy.¹³¹

Christian democrats' ethos is predominantly political: the definition of the political community based on the conception of religious cosmopolitanism based on shared faith

¹²⁹ Kalyvas, S. (1996), op.cit.

¹³⁰ Becker, W. "The Emergence and Development of Christian Democratic Parties in Western Europe", in Lamberts, E. (ed), (1997), Christian Democracy in the European Union: Proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium 1995, Leuven: Leuven University Press, p.109; Hanley, D. (1994), "Introduction: Christian Democracy as a Political Phenomenon" in Hanley, D. (ed.), Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective, London: Pinter; Houska, J. (1985), Influencing Mass Political Behaviour: Elites and Political SubCultures in the Netherlands and Austria, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies; Kirchheimer, O. (1966), "The Catch-all Party" in LaPalombara, J. and Weiner, M. Political Parties and Political Development, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Wolinetz, S. (1979), "The Transformation of Western European Party Systems Revisited", West European Politics, 2(1): 4-28.

¹³¹ Kalyvas, S. (1996), op. cit., p.264.

across national borders. As a consequence, Christian democracy is reluctant to treat the nation-state as the natural political unit.¹³²

Christian democrats' core ideology holds the family as the fundamental economic unit. Christian democrats' economic beliefs are distinct both from socialists who see the class as the criteria to correct market inequalities and from liberals' belief in the market as the perfect distributor. Christian democrats, although acknowledging the need for the welfare state, do not conceive it as an instrument to alter the social order, on which families are based, but rather as a safety net. Deriving from the tradition of Christian charity and Catholic social doctrine, Christian democrats propose creating transfers "aiming at ameliorating the sufferings resulting from market inequalities"¹³³ and not at replacing or changing the structural conditions of market competition. Therefore, the expansion of state transfers created by Christian democrats tends to reproduce the disparities stemming from positions in the labour market, rather than reducing them.

Liberalism

Liberal parties are a product of Enlightenment, agents in the fight for democracy against the powers and privileges of church and monarchy by reinforcing the rational elements of the state. Liberals' quintessential belief in the goodness of human nature elevates individuals to fundamentals of political and economic community. The tasks of governments and states is to make individuals free to participate in political life and act freely in the market.¹³⁴ In its inception, liberal parties' goals were political. In its plight to reinforce the state against traditional institutions, liberal forces fought conservatives and other defenders of the

¹³² Hix, S. and Lord, C. (1997), Political Parties in the European Union, London: MacMillan Press, p. 25-7.

¹³³ Huber, E. Ragin, C. and Stephens, J. (1993), "Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure and the Welfare State", American Journal of Sociology, 99(3): 73-111.

status quo. Liberals were fundamentally based on a political ethos: the citizens associated in an autonomous, self-organising civil society which counterbalances the powers of the state.¹³⁵ The fight for individual liberties overthrew monarchies and promoted the secularisation of the state. Since individuals are the basic unit of the state, there are no reasons to believe that individuals cannot or should not be associated across national borders, and the international environment is viewed as conducive to cooperation.¹³⁶ Liberals therefore conceive international relations as a continuation of national political life.

Once liberals' main political battles were won and civil liberties became increasingly taken for granted, liberals focused on the establishment of economic freedoms. In most countries Economic liberalism won the central place of liberal parties' ethos, more so since liberals were confronted with both the rise of socialism, an ideology that threatened both economic and political freedoms. Socialist parties advocated both the strengthening of state powers and correction of market inequalities based on the concept of class. Liberal parties focused on defending the market as the main regulator of economic relations.

Conservatism

Conservatives' main goals have been the protection of traditional institutions. In the XIX century this implied the protection of respected institutions like the church, the monarchy and the elites that benefited from their power against the liberal drive to centralise and strengthen the state. Thinly organised, conservatives were allied in an ad-hoc fashion and held a pragmatic attitude to ideology and an aversion to mobilise through mass

¹³⁴ Smith, G. (1988), op.cit.

¹³⁵ Merkel, W. (2001), "Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation In East Central Europe", Ágh, A. and Pridham, G. Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in East-Central Europe, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.98.

organisations. Among mainstream ideologies conservatism is the least consistent and the one that most strongly defies classification. Conservative parties remain exceptionally flexible in order to adapt to the changing circumstances of political competition resulting from rival parties defying their electoral space.

Although conservatives initially opposed liberal parties in both political and economic terms, in the early XX century changing conditions of political competition led conservatives to take over liberals' economic and political ethos. The end of the ideological antagonism between the two parties is a result of several factors. First, the attainment of economic freedom, the secularisation of the state and the accomplishment of nation-building processes made conservatives' previous pleas anachronistic. Adapting to these new circumstances, conservatives ended up supporting the democratic nation-state and the economic freedom that it guaranteed against the rising success of left-wing ideologies, which pled for an increasingly interventionist role of the state in the economy and an internationalist view of the political order.¹³⁷ A broad definition of conservatism in contemporary Europe combines two principles: the nation as the basic political community and the individual as the fundamental economic unit.¹³⁸ The preferences of conservative constituencies, combining social conservatism and economic liberalism, insured the electoral success of such a formula.

Nationalism

Contrary to other authors, nationalists are here classified independently of their strategic or particular policy stances. Nationalism is considered both by Von Beyme and

¹³⁶ Skotnicka-Illaszewicz, E. and Wesolowski, W. (1995), "The Significance of Preconceptions: Europe of Civil Societies and Europe of Nationalities", in Periwal, S. (ed.) Notions of Nationalism, Budapest: Central European University Press, p. 220.

¹³⁷ Smith, G. (1988), "Between Left and Right: the Ambiguity of Contemporary Liberalism", op. cit.

¹³⁸ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), op.cit. p. 454.

Mudde as a necessary but not sufficient characteristic of right-wing extremists.¹³⁹ Mudde asserts that although “the identified ideological core (of radical right parties) is clearly nationalist, not all nationalists can be considered right-wing extremists because they are not simultaneously xenophobic and stressing law and order.”¹⁴⁰ The nation, regarded as the basic political and economic community, is sufficient to describe these parties core ideology. Nationalists’ central plank is the attainment and preservation of the nation’s political sovereignty.

The origins of the nationalist party family are, mainly in XIX century, nationalist movements fighting against multi-national empires and the Catholic Church to assert the right of nations to self-determination. Nationalism has continued to be popular as the basis of new parties well into the XX century, especially in countries where the process of nation-building has been traumatic and hazardous, like in Austria, Belgium or Poland.¹⁴¹ Nationalists consider external relations as dominated almost exclusively by the national interest, and the international sphere as an aggressive environment where state cooperation is very limited.

Nationalists’ main plea is political and economic nationalism is of secondary relevance. Although the national economy is conceived as a closed system that can be insulated by protectionist policies, nationalists are often proponents of neo-liberal policy stances.

¹³⁹ Beyme, K. (1985), Political Parties in Western Democracies, Aldershot: Gower.

¹⁴⁰ Mudde, C. (2000), The Ideology of the Extreme Right, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 180. Although Mudde admits that all parties are nationalists, he considers it not sufficient to describe the extreme right party family.

¹⁴¹ Lipset, S. and Rokkan, S. (1968), “Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction”, in Lipset, S. and Rokkan, S. (eds.), Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross National Perspectives, New York: Free Press, p. 25.

Classifying parties

1989-1993: the dissolution of Solidarity and the building up of parties

First attempt at Christian Democracy: the Centre Agreement

Poland's transition to democracy was shaped by the settlement hammered out between Solidarity and the Communist Party in their roundtable negotiations of February-March 1989. After a landslide victory in the August 1989 elections the Solidarity liberal leadership pushed for liberals' primacy in the first postcommunist coalition government under Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The first Polish free parliamentary elections in 1991 (the 1989 elections had opened only one-third of the seats in the more important lower house of parliament, the Sejm, to democratic contestation, reserving the rest for the Communist Party and its allies) were fought in the context of Solidarity's dissolution, caused by the "war at the top" waged by Lech Wałęsa and his associates against the liberal faction of Solidarity leading to the creation of the Tadeusz Mazowiecki governmental coalition. Marginalised from the first government, and preparing the 1991 Presidential election campaign staging Mazowiecki against Wałęsa, this group went about dismantling Solidarity as a political formation and create a European-style party system where parties would be based on clear ideological profiles..

The post-Solidarity political elite had a strong desire to erase the Communist period and take over political developments at the point where they were thrown off course in 1939. This is visible in the extensive quoting in party documents of pre-II World War politicians and party ideologies. Polish historical political identities were therefore very important in the process of post-1989 party identity building. Party elites started by digging their historical roots. Christian democracy has a weak historical tradition in Poland, the

interwar Christian democratic party (Christian Democratic-Labour Party) commanded a small support and was irrelevant in government.

Christian democracy's appeal for post-1989 political elites was nevertheless obvious: in Poland the Catholic political identity was extremely strong, rooted not only in a widespread Catholic belief in Poland, but also of its politicisation by Solidarity as an opposition movement during the 1980s. The appeal of Catholicism and the family as political and economic identities, both central institutions in Poland gave Christian democracy a possibly strong support.¹⁴² Religious affiliation remained the most important determinant of voting behaviour and a CBOS poll in the late eighties revealed that 44 percent of the Poles accepted Christian democracy as a desirable centre-right ideology while only 24 percent of the respondents rejected it.

Faced with the task to define its political identity, Wałęsa's sponsored party under the leadership of the identical twins Kaszyński, the Centre Agreement (PC), adopted Christian democracy, characterising it as the profile that best suited a centre party. The party elites started establishing contacts with the German Christian democrats in order to attempt to integrate CD international movements. Equally strong within the PC was a nationalist rhetoric drawing on the traditions of Polish nationalist ideology (see next section). The PC's programmatic documents frequently referred to Roman Dmowski's assimilation between Catholicism and Polishness, on whose ideas it based a fierce anti-communism and the proclaimed moral superiority of the Polish nation.¹⁴³

The nationalist rhetoric of a part of the population clashed with the aspiration to "build in Poland a strong centre as a factor of equality and political innovation"¹⁴⁴ under the

¹⁴² Kitschelt, H. (1999), "Post-Communist Party Systems", op. cit.

¹⁴⁴ Deklaracja Porozumienia Centrum, (Declaration Centre Agreement), Warsaw: May 1990.

aegis of Christian democracy. The PC's concept of political community was based on the Catholic faith: "the PC counts on the support of the part of the society that follows the Christian message and is ready to build the Republic accordingly".¹⁴⁵ Its programme of social modernisation followed Catholic precepts. "The Polish national interest requires a major work of national economic, organisational, and social modernisation. This modernisation should respect the moral values defended by Christianity constituting our identity. Without this change of system we will never bridge the civilisational gap between Europe and us. (...) The bases of every change in Poland must be the restoration of our moral system. (...) The role of the Catholic Church is of immense importance to the build up of our moral system, bitterly attacked by the left-wing post-communist environment."¹⁴⁶

When the PC became the leading party in the Olszewski government in 1991, the party nationalist faction supported the lustration process, the process of excluding communist collaborators from public life, initiated by Justice Minister Antoni Macierewicz. Lustration can be interpreted as part of a nationalist agenda in the context of the Polish democratic transition from communism. Much more was at stake than the question of past collaboration. Indeed, the conflict seemed to centre on the nature of the Polish state. The project of the nationalist right-wing was to create a national political community of which the ex-communists were excluded. The nation's natural historic progression should resume from where it had been forced off course in 1939. Moved by moral revulsion at the communist system and a sense of justice denied, Olszewski and his allies argued that communism was an alien period that should be excised from Polish history, its perpetrators punished and its victims rewarded. Judging from the rhetoric, lustration was a nation-building task and a patriotic duty. The PC was also a supporter of economic de-communisation and denounced the "nomenklatura" privatisation. Lustration was strongly opposed by liberal politicians prompted both by

¹⁴⁵ POC, Deklaracja Programowa, (POC Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: 1991.

¹⁴⁶ Deklaracja Porozumienia Centrum, (Declaration of the Centre Agreement), Warsaw: May 1990.

pragmatism and a civic vision that the political community should include the willing and not the deserving, argued that communism had left an indelible mark on Polish society.

The fundament of the party's economic policies, the protection of families from distortions of market economy, shows a straightforward adoption of Christian democratic economic principles. Emulating the Catholic Church's social doctrine the PC declared that "our social policy is concentrated on the family as the central social unit."¹⁴⁷ The PC's social policy featured a pro-family approach, with the party stating that its main objective was that of preventing the impoverishment of families in need. The important issue of support for family farming was also present in the party's stances on agricultural reform.

The PC positioned itself on the economic left-right scale as a middle-of-the-road position, proposing a friendly attitude to market liberalism and opting for a gradual approach to reforms. The party stated modernisation and external competitiveness as twin goals: "The current economic and social structure condemns Poland to backwardness and being unable to compete in Europe and the world. If we do not compete in Europe, we will have our sovereignty threatened, first economically, and then politically."¹⁴⁸ The PC programs excluded tax increases as a solution to the budget deficit and proposed favourable tax regimes for new enterprises to foster the competitiveness of Polish products in foreign markets. A rational fiscal and anti-inflationist policy implied a strong pledge for budgetary discipline. The programme supported efforts for a faster privatisation.¹⁴⁹

The contradictions between nationalist traditions and the pledge for a centrist and Christian democratic ideological profile, that were latter to become a feature of the Polish right, played high in the PC's desintegration. Prime Minister Jan Olszewski personified the

¹⁴⁷ Program Wyborczy Porozumienie Centrum-Zjednoczenie Polskie, (Electoral Program Polish Agreement – United Poland), Warsaw: 1993.

¹⁴⁸ *idem*.

incompatibility between an identification with nationalism and the party's pledge for a Christian democratic identity and a centrist strategy.¹⁵⁰ His later political career would show the predominance of nationalism and its incompatibility with European integration. In the complicated coalition politics after 1991 elections the PC refused to coalesce with the liberal UD, adding to the instability of the coalition governments. The PC dissolved in the wake of the conflict provoked by the lustration law¹⁵¹ proposed by the faction linked with Jan Olszewski, the PC's vice-president noted that the party's failure was due not only to personal infighting but was also a consequence of the impossibility of pursuing its identity consistently.

The liberal renaissance: the Union of Democracy

Like Christian democracy, liberalism had no strong tradition in Poland before the II World War. Paradoxically the communist period was a favourable environment for liberal thought to flourish, as its suppression of civic and economic freedoms gave liberals a clear mission. The constitution of the Solidarity movement in 1979 was arguably possible only due to the association of intellectuals with the workers' protest movement. In the eighties Solidarity's revolution was supported by the idea of a parallel civil society independent of the communism.

In the context of Solidarity's dissolution the liberal faction that had negotiated the Round Table compromise and the constitution of a coalition government created the Democratic Union (UD) in 1991. The UD was a party clearly based on political liberalism, and in the charged political debate on the relations between the Catholic Church and the Polish state, it took secular and liberal attitudes. Its leaders maintained that although "the state - its

¹⁴⁹ Deklaracja Porozumienia Centrum, (Declaration of PC), Warsaw: May 1990.

¹⁵⁰ Walicki, A. (1994), Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism, Notre Dame; University of Notre Dame, p. 23.

system of law – is part of a defined system of values, which in our culture is rooted in Christianity and human rights”,¹⁵² it cannot be “taken over by any specific ideological group”.¹⁵³ The party leadership opposed the nationalist and Catholic attempts to take over the state and define the political community through Catholicism. It extended its liberalism to the promotion of pluralism in the party and the support for a pluralist civil society. “We value the common action of all social groups, all active citizens who promote tolerance, avoid violence and adhere to an ethos rooted in the Christian tradition. We hope that these values are shown clearly in our positions and actions.”¹⁵⁴ The party’s was to host “people from different worldviews and religions”.¹⁵⁵

The party’s concern for strengthening the state draws a parallel with the early XIX century liberals’ efforts to strengthen the rational elements of the state against the power of traditional institutions. “The essential reference of the UD is a democratic state serving civil society. This fundamental idea synthesises the political thought of the UD and determines our political identity. The state, understood as a common haven for the citizens, should provide security and a homely feeling. However, we reject the understanding of the state as an absolute in the face of which everything else must be given up.” This limited state “must protect the freedom of the citizens (...) without discriminating on grounds of gender, age, nationality or way of life”.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ Lustration was the process of identifying and barring from political life persons who had collaborated with the communist security services.

¹⁵² Stabilizacja i Rozwój, Uchwała Programowa II Kongresu Krajowego Unii Demokratycznej, Broszura Wyborcza Unii Demokratycznej, (Stabilisation and Development, Programmatic Decision of the II National Congress of Democratic Union), Warsaw: 1993.

¹⁵³ Uchwała Programowa Unia Demokratyczna, (Programatic Resolution of the Union of Democracy), Warsaw: May 1991.

¹⁵⁴ Deklaracja Założycielka ROAD, Biuletyn Informacyjny ROAD, (Founding Declaration ROAD, Stabilisation and Development), Warsaw: June 1990.

¹⁵⁵ idem

¹⁵⁶ Stabilizacja i Rozwój, Uchwała Programowa II Kongresu Krajowego Unii Demokratycznej, Broszura Wyborcza Unii Demokratycznej, (Stabilisation and Development, Programmatic Decision of the II National Congress of Democratic Union), Warsaw: 1993.

The UD's social and political liberalism was a novelty in Polish political history, since no liberal parties had existed either before or after the World War II, and no political group in exile had proclaimed liberalism as its ideology. The modern roots of Polish liberalism are found in the intellectual dissident groups that gave birth to Solidarity. For this reason, although Polish liberalism emphasises individual rights, the Solidarity experience stressed the need for organising society against the state. The free association of individuals, i.e., civil society, became the key political concept of the liberal faction of Solidarity. The "us against them", "us" being a civil society against "them" the communists, demanded a collective identity. An individualist ideology did not provide a sufficiently strong base to fight the communists. Solidarity between individuals, the key experience of dissidents under communism, strengthened the associative aspects of liberal ideology. Belief in the value of individuals was complemented by the collectivist spirit that dissident groups within Solidarity had to forge to fight communism. The idea of civil society was put in practice not only by creating a pluralist party that would reflect the heterogeneity of society, but also by supporting civil society organisations. In early 1990s post-communist Europe liberal parties' emulated XIX century liberals fight for the freedom of individuals against all oppressive institutions.

The UD defined itself as a rational and anti-demagogic party. "We serve the voters that value balance and measure, the voters that understand that in public life reason should prevail over emotion."¹⁵⁷ This stance emerged in an environment they perceived as highly polarised by National Catholicism. Practicing Catholics, such as former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki justified his choice for creating a liberal party (at the time the Democratic Union). "Some people accused me of not creating a Christian democratic party, but I believed in the foundation of a pluralist group reflecting the history of the opposition movement, a group with different beliefs and world views."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Idem.

¹⁵⁸ Author's interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, first pos-communist Prime Minister and Solidarity leader, July 2001.

The UD's clear political ideology contrasts with its contradictory economic propositions. The UD was divided between a liberal and a socialist faction, personified respectively by Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, the author of the shock therapy to the marketization of Polish economy and Labour and Social Policy Minister Jacek Kuron. Contradictions between these two wings made it difficult for the party to formulate coherent economic policies and caused confusion among the electorate. In 1991 the UD, the party that in the previous year had imposed several measures implying severe and painful expenditure cuts to curb the budget deficit and inflation,, argued for spending measures of higher social protection, as well as micro-economic policies to alleviate the effects of shock therapy.¹⁵⁹ In 1993 the party was still committed to both social cohesion and liberal economic policies, arguing that the two principles "kept together guarantee economic growth."¹⁶⁰ The UD's leftist belief in the role of the state to provide equal life chances was openly displayed. "Thorough development of social security is a fundamental part of our programme. Health Services should be enlarged and remain state-owned."¹⁶¹ In contrast, the party of 1991 Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki the Confederation of Liberal Democrats (KLD) had an ethos based on economic liberalism.

Nationalism: the Christian National Union and the Coalition for Polish Independence

Nationalism is the most elaborate home-grown Polish political ideology. The loss of Polish statehood in the XVIII century made the national question the most prominent political issue throughout. At a loss to exercise power, the intellectual Polish classes argued

¹⁵⁹ Uchwała Programowa Unia Demokratyczna, (Programmatic Decision of Democratic Union) Warsaw: May 1991.

¹⁶⁰ Stabilizacja i Rozwój. Uchwała Programowa II Kongresu Krajowego Unii Demokratycznej. Broszura Wyborcza Unii Demokratycznej, (Stabilisation and Development, Programmatic Decision of the II National Congress of Democratic Union), Warsaw: 1993.

¹⁶¹ *Idem*.

over the terms and strategies of attaining independence. The main conflict in the late XIX and early XX centuries concerned the definition of the state's borders, whether along ethnic or territorial lines. The advocates of an ethnically homogenous Polish state, the most prominent of which was Roman Dmowski, conceptualised a symbiosis between the Polish national identity and Catholicism, which effectively submitted Catholic cosmopolitanism to nationalism. In its 1902 major oeuvre *Myśli Nowoczesnego Polaka* (Thoughts of a Modern Pole) Dmowski favored what he called a "national state," a state in which the citizens would speak Polish and profess the Roman Catholic faith. The suppression of Catholic cosmopolitanism is most visible in Dmowski's conception of international relations as a fight for survival and his vision of the state's conduct from the point of view of cosmopolitan justice as a betrayal.¹⁶² Dmowski's ideology is thus characterised by an acute sense of the importance of the state as the only guarantor of sovereignty, making no concessions to Catholic morality in the conduct of foreign policy.

The rival conception to Dmowski's was that of General Pilsudski, who conceived (and conquered) a multi-ethnic Poland at the expenses of the Soviet Union. During the Russian Civil War Pilsudski's army made considerable gains and the Soviet-Polish Treaty of Riga (1921) left Poland in control of substantial areas of Lithuania, Belorussia and the Ukraine. Pilsudski believed in a wide definition of Polish citizenship in which peoples of different languages, cultures and faiths were to be united by a common loyalty to the reborn Polish state.

While the geography of Poland in 1921 reflected Pilsudski rather than Dmowski's ideas, the redrawing of borders settled in Yalta, as well as Nazi extermination of Polish Jews resulted in the involuntary victory of Dmowski's ethnically homogeneous Polish state. The self definition of Poles as Catholic thus became the most powerful ideological legacy after 1989.

¹⁶² Walicki, A., (2000), "The Troubling Legacy of Roman Dmowski", East European Politics and Societies, 14(1): 12-46.

From the multitude of parties that emerged from the dissolution of Solidarity (29 of them entered parliament in the 1991 elections) many espoused nationalist ideals. Most of these formations proved ephemeral, thus we focus here on those participating in the different 1991-1993 governmental coalitions. Two major nationalist parties competed in the right-wing camp, representing the different nationalist legacies from interwar Poland: the first the socialist nationalism of Josef Piłsudski – the Confederation for the Republic (KPN) - the other the Catholic nationalism of Roman Dmowski – the ZChN. In the 1993 elections, another party of nationalist character, the Coalition for the Republic (KdR), emerged by secession from the PC.

Piłsudski ressurected: the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN)

The Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) was the only party independent of communist rule before 1989. Leszek Moczulski, whose radical anti-communism and anti-Soviet rhetoric made him condemn the compromises that the Solidarity leadership had made with the communist regime, established the party in 1979. The KPN uncompromising attitude mimicked Piłsudski's call for the Polish elite to actively pursue independence. For the KPN, the nation's salvation is the affair of a few chosen individuals, with no need for religious legitimisation. The KPN represented the most consistent of the radical independentist groups. Although the great majority of political groupings – led by Solidarity – recognised full independence as a goal, the KPN emphasised independence above all else. "Independence is the pre-condition for solving all major problems: only in an independent state can democracy be implemented and problems solved."¹⁶³ The democratic transition was seen exclusively in terms of the chance to attain independence. "We are the generation of change

¹⁶³ Deklaracja Ideowa, Statut, Program Konfederacja Polskie Niepodległej, (Ideological Declaration, Program of the Confederation of Polish Independence), Warsaw: 1989.

in the long march of generations. The martyrdom of Poland in Yalta and under the Soviet Union is the basis for future action.” 1989 is the historic moment “that cannot be wasted”.¹⁶⁴

The 1993 electoral programme of the KPN spelled out vague and populist economic proposals. The KPN demanded the end of privatisation, asked for higher levels of subsidies for agriculture, pensions and social security benefits and the creation of a statutory right to work. The KPN also proposed an increase in salaries as a way to increase consumption and production, and consequently create employment as an anti-recession measure.¹⁶⁵ The KPN's uncompromising nationalism and messianic attitude made it one of the few dissenters from right-wing unification in 1996 under the AWS. By withdrawing from it during the 1997 elections it faced total defeat and disappeared.

The Christian National Union (ZChN)

The ZChN was established by Wiesław Chrzanowski in October 1989 joining almost 20 religiously-inspired organisations in a broader right-wing party. Although some activists were uneasy about this straightforward association, the party was directly influenced by Roman Dmowski's ideology and proudly stressed its links with the legacy of the National Democratic Party.¹⁶⁶

The ZChN's ideology exemplified how the national tradition can overrule the religious universal values of Catholicism. In the tradition of Dmowski, the ZChN professed an integral nationalism so conceived that it “conflicts with individual liberalism and

¹⁶⁴ op.cit.

¹⁶⁵ Podstawowe Punkty Programu Społeczno-Gospodarczego, Konfederacja Polskie Niepodległej, (Confederation of Independent Poland, Main Socio-Economic Programatic Points), Warsaw: 1993.

¹⁶⁶ In an interview with *Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych* in December 1989 Antoni Macierewicz emphasized that the ZChN is not a continuation of the National Democratic Party, but rather the inheritor of various non-leftist national parties.

Christianity”.¹⁶⁷ Dmowski, by declaring Catholicism as “embedded in the essence of Polishness” subordinated Christian universalism to national ethics. Polish Catholics’ highest mission was the preservation and development of their nation. The Polish Catholic Church, at the time under the direction of Cardinal Glemp, semi-officially supported the ZChN.

The particular fusion of nationalism and Catholicism in ZChN’s ideology implied that the party protected the national version of Polish Catholicism. Moreover, the ZChN’s ideological declaration fought against the reinstatement of the principle of church-state separation in the new Polish Constitution. The ZChN’s fundamental apology of a confessional Catholic state occupied almost entirely its 1989 ideological declaration. This reads that “the Catholic religion is the expression of truth which binds not only private matters but also public life”. The party rejected “the concept of an ideologically neutral state according to individualistic and liberal conceptions. Social structures should encourage society’s observance of Catholic ethical principles.”¹⁶⁸

The party was thus opposed to modernising trends in the Catholic Church, in particular the acceptance of the principle of religious neutrality of liberal state enshrined in Church doctrine in the II Vatican Council.¹⁶⁹ Marian Piłka, one of ZChN’s prominent politicians, observed that Catholicism was in danger of losing its universal character to leftist pseudo-universalism and argued for devolving power to the hierarchy and restore the integral character to Catholic doctrine, devolving its ability to inspire culture.¹⁷⁰ Publicists affiliated with the Union were also wary of a modern secular culture, rejecting a consumerist society.

Its fusion of a conservative interpretation of the Catholic doctrine and nationalism lead the ZChN to define Polishness as moral purity. The ZChN’s rhetoric also stressed the

¹⁶⁷ Walicki, D. (2000), op.cit.

¹⁶⁸ Deklaracja Programowa ZChN, (ZChN’s Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: 1989.

¹⁶⁹ Piłka, M. “Czy Kryzys Tożsamości?”, (Identity Crisis?), *Młoda Polska* (Young Poland), 4 and 25 November 1989.

¹⁷⁰ During a Conference entitled: “200 years of Barbarism: 1789-1989” organised by, among others, the ZChN activists, all of the presentations contained the notion that “The French revolution embodied the realisation of secular

superiority of the Polish moral system: "The fundamentals of the new Poland should be the Christian values that have shaped the culture and identity of the Polish people for a thousand years."¹⁷¹ The absence of any economic policy stances in party's founding documents demonstrates the predominance of Catholic nationalism in the the party's core ideology. In the late nineties this lacuna would eventually be filled with the adoption of a liberal economic programme.

Strategic options of parties 1991-1993

The 1991 elections were the first fully competitive elections in Poland, with an almost pure PR system: no entry thresholds, the applicationf of Saint Lague system for transferring votes into seats and fairly large electoral districts. These produced a highly polarised and unstructured party system and legislature (twenty-nine parties gained seats in the parliament). Due to the fragmentation of the right wing a coalition of many parties was necessary to attain office, which kept alive party hopes of participating in government. In this period parties had chances to integrate government and pursue centrist strategies, and this added to the difficulty in structuring the core party system.¹⁷² The confusion was aggravated by a multitude of very small parties that "defined themselves as the moral guardians of political philosophies".¹⁷³ The parties with stronger claims to occupy the core of the party system, in particular those parties resulting from the war at the top among the Solidarity

ideals foreign to the Christian civilisation. These ideals can lead from the philosophy of equality to the philosophy of totalitarianism." *Młoda Polska*, (Young Poland), 25 November 1989.

¹⁷¹ Deklaracja Programowa ZChN, (ZChN's Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: 1989.

¹⁷² Jasiewicz, K. (1993), "Polish Politics on the Eve of the 1993 Elections", Communist and Pos-Communist Studies, 26(4), p. 387.

¹⁷³ Bielecki, J. (1992), "The Dilemma of Political Interests in the Post Communist Transition" in Connor, W. and Ploszajski, (eds.), Escape from Socialism: the Polish Route, Warsaw: IFiS, p.206.

movement, the PC and the UD, together with the KLD. The PC, as its name indicates, was unquestionably aspiring to form the centre of the emerging party system.

The centrist strategies of these parties were often thwarted by the actions of their troublesome coalition partners, which made the governments that followed the 1991 elections as unstable as they were divided. An example of such strategies are those of the ZChN in the government of Jan Olszewski initially formed a minority coalition dominated by the PC and the ZChN. This government stalled on several policy questions, including the privatisation programme announced in June 1991 by the previous government. After a disastrous attempt to oust communist collaborators from public life, initiated by the ZChN's leader Antoni Macierewicz, the Olszewski government fell in July 1992.

Despite the responsibility of the ZChN's leader, Antoni Macierewicz, in the fall of the Olszewski government, in which he served as Justice Minister, the party's centrist strategy was clear, as it participated in almost all right-wing governments until 1993.¹⁷⁴ The ZChN participated in the government that succeeded the Olszewski's government, the Suchocka government, which also included the PC, the UD and the KLD. During the Suchocka's government the ZChN, although routinely torpedoing proposals they saw as "antifamily", anti-Church or too liberal, attempted to establish itself as a core party, by remaining loyal in votes that did not imply sacrificing the party's Christian values. When the vote of no-confidence brought down the Suchocka government by one vote, the ZChN's MP that voted against the government was immediately dismissed.¹⁷⁵ The drive for government participation guided the party to more moderate political stances. "Whatever their ideology, the ZChN leaders have always been flexible enough to make the cooperation with the centre right a priority. This implied leaving behind extremists like Antoni Macierewicz or Jan Łopuszanski".¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Millard, F. (1994), op. cit.

¹⁷⁵ Author's interview with Andrzej Potocki, UD and UW's MP and Spokesperson, July 2003.

¹⁷⁶ Author's interview with Mariusz Kaminski, ZChN's MP, July 2000.

The change of the electoral law in the 1993 election, establishing 5% and 8% electoral thresholds for parties and coalitions respectively, plus a National List – 69 seats in a second tier were allotted to parties that cleared a 7% national support hurdle - changed the conditions of competition in a dramatic way. An increase in the number of electoral districts from 37 to 52 and a consequent decrease in their magnitude (plus inaugurating the d'Hondt formula) paved the way to even greater disproportionality and made it harder for small parties to get into the parliament and win a significant number of seats. To deal with these new electoral circumstances, most parties needed to change their strategies of competition by coalescing in order to overcome the electoral threshold. Although the right-wing parties had attempted to unify in view of the elections, the negotiations collapsed, and the right went into the elections fragmented. Most post-Solidarity parties insisted on their separate identities and ended up failing to get into parliament. Those parties that coalesced, like the Ojczisna, registered as an electoral coalition rather than as a party, which led them to fail the threshold for electoral coalitions of 8 percent. Failure to bow to the new rules of competition was thus the prime cause of the post-Solidarity virtual ban from parliament in the 1993 elections. Of the parties comprising Suchocka's coalition government, only the UD survived in a six-party Sejm. The UD and the BBWR, both parties retaining a firm commitment to centre-right economic policies, performed the core opposition to the SLD-PSL government.

European Attitudes 1989-1993

The UD distinguished its Hard Europhilism from those of its opponents - Christian democrats and nationalists. In 1990 Adam Michnick enunciated two sorts of anti-communist forces - those who are "liberal, pluralistic, and European"; and the others (...) "who are xenophobic, authoritarian, turned towards the past and towards restoring the life of the

past”.¹⁷⁷ The Hard Europhilism of the UD was a key element of its liberalism. Since the days of Solidarity the liberal elite took up the mission of integrating Poland in the EU. Solidarity’s 1989 electoral programme stated: “This election should be a return. It should come the time when Poland becomes a country where everyone is at home. The time when Poland should return to Europe. The road to prosperity and independence is a slow and distant one, but the market economy and justice will be protected in the Sejm and the Senate and then we will be able to say – we chose that road.”¹⁷⁸

The “road back to Europe” constituted the first expression of political liberalism in Poland. Freedom for Poland and the post-Soviet states, translated into the immediate recognition of Lithuanian and Belarussian independence in 1991, despite the presence of Red Army troops. Respect for the 1945 borders was pledged, a position far from certain from the government of a country that had just *de facto* attained sovereignty and where the mainstream thinking before the fall of communism was that, when communism would collapse, Poland should recover the Eastern territories lost in Yalta, including Vilnius and Lwów. Although respecting the 1945 borders was made easier by the fact that all the neighbouring Polish states had disappeared - Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Germany – the decision to accept the 1945 borders remained a choice of the first liberal post-communist government.

Economic liberals, then organised in the Congress for Liberal Democracy (KLD) were hard Europhiles, and justified the pro-Western choice taken in the early nineties mainly in economic terms. “In 1989 we were in a horrible situation because of the heavy debts faced by the Polish economy. We had no choice but to leapfrog, since the Polish economy was on the verge of collapse. So we had to move very quickly. The commitment to liberal economic

¹⁷⁷ Michnik, A. (1990) “The Two Faces of Europe”, New York Review of Books, 37(12).

¹⁷⁸ “Obywatele Rzeczypospolitej! Przyjaciele Solidarnosci!”, Ulotka Wyborcza, (“Citizens of the Republic! Friends of Solidarity!”), Electoral Manifesto), Warsaw: June 1989.

reforms was intrinsically linked to the symbolic “return to Europe”. That was why in the beginning we tried to discuss immediate trade agreements with the EC (...) because the Polish market was especially open and exposed to external competition. This openness of the economy made politics and economics completely mixed. On a daily basis the symbolism of the return to Europe was connected with economic conditions. There was no possibility of running a protectionist policy from the outset.”¹⁷⁹

The PC’s support for European integration seemed motivated by the party’s centrist bid and Christian democratic pledge. In 1991 the Centre Alliance (PC) portrayed Polish integration in the EEC as a matter of *raison d’état*. The PC claimed to defend integration from a different standpoint to the liberal wing of Solidarity. The PC elites criticised “the diplomatic activity of the Caucus of the Civic Parliamentary Club (the name given by Solidarity to its group in Parliament after the 1989 elections)” which was “dominated by left-wing leaders”. The party’s Christian democratic and centrist aspirations still reflected in a positive appraisal of European integration. However, once the PC disintegrated, the faction linked to Premier Olszewski created a nationalist party, the Coalition for the Republic (KdR), that opposed integration more openly. The internal conflict in the PC on the definition of the basic political community was reproduced later within the AWS, showing that Christian democracy’s cosmopolitan support for integration was far from consensual, being in strong conflict with the nationalist principles of a large part of the post-Solidarity leaders.

The ZChN’s European attitudes’ confirms hypothesis 1 - that ideologies based on political conceptions inspire unconditional responses to European integration. The early days of transition were characterised by widespread support for European integration. Europe was a synonym of liberal market economy, democracy and membership of the European Union, the arrival of large sums of investment capital and the opening of Western markets to Polish

¹⁷⁹ Author’s interview with Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, leader of the KLD and former Polish Prime Minister,

products, together with political integration and incorporation into the Western security system. However, the gap between the expectations of the elite and the reality of the negotiations of the Europe Agreements in 1991 opened the way for a variety of party responses. The symbolic nature of Europe made an open critique of the European Community (EC) sound anti-democratic, so parties made use of cautious language.

In 1992 the Association Agreements between the EU and Poland shattered the expectations of favourable terms of trade. Nationalist parties were the first to doubt that national interests were served by integration. However, in these early days, the symbolic clout of Europe resulted in parties expressing Euroscepticism in conditional terms. The ZChN was the first to become critical of the terms of the EU. "The EU is egoistic since it did not help Poland to overcome the economic crisis by opening trade in the most important areas for the Polish products."¹⁸⁰ The ZChN also pointed to the Agreements' negative consequences for the Polish economy, especially in the agricultural sector. The ZChN Soft Euroscepticism reflects its economic and political nationalism. "In the foreign policy domain Polish politics must have an independent character. We must ensure that our international economic relations have a character of partnership. Poland must protect the interests of its producers and its market. We should correct the current disproportion in our balance of trade with the EEC."¹⁸¹ "The Polish position regarding the EU should restrict the loss of sovereignty by Poland. European integration should not mean replacing the organism of the state by a unified and strongly bureaucratised state system of United Europe."¹⁸²

In 1993 Jan Olszewski's recently formed KdR demanded the renegotiation of the Europe Agreements, assuming an uncompromising tone when calling for the protection of national economic interests from the EU, in particular concerning the internal agricultural

¹⁸⁰ Program Wyborczy Zjednoczenia Chrzescijansko-Narodowego, (Electoral Program of the Christian National Union), 1993, p.46.

market.¹⁸³ The KdR was equally critical of the dictates of international organizations, and supported the concept of “Europe of the Nations”. The Euroscepticism of the ZChN, the KPN and the KdR shows that despite the symbolic clout of “Europe” in post-communist politics, nationalism is a sufficient condition for Hard Euroscepticism.

Emerging bipolarism: the unification of the right between 1997 and 2001

Trade Unionists’ Christian democracy in the Electoral Action Solidarity (AWS)

The 1993 elections were a disastrous defeat for the right, with the liberals becoming the only party of previous governments to overcome the 5 per cent threshold and to be represented in the Sejm. The extreme fragmentation of the right before the elections resulted in 34 per cent of cast votes being wasted and the right-wing becoming artificially empty. The attempts to unify the post-Solidarity elite and create a party able to face the postcommunist SLD started immediately after the elections and intensified after the defeat of Lech Walesa in the Presidential elections in 1995 to the postcommunist candidate Aleksander Kwasniewski. All of these attempts, some under the aegis of the Catholic Church, failed. In the summer of 1996 the Solidarity Trade Union (NSZZ) leader, Marian Krzaklewski started negotiations to create a broad based electoral coalition to dispute the legislative elections.¹⁸⁴ The Electoral Action Solidarity (AWS) then came to life. With the Trade Union as its most powerful constituent, the AWS (a fusion of more than 30 political groupings) became a rallying point for the right’s electorate coming first in the elections, but short of absolute majority.

¹⁸² *idem.*

¹⁸³ *Koalicja dla Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały Wyborcze*, (Coalition for the Republic, Electoral Material), Warsaw: June 1993.

¹⁸⁴ Kaminski, M. (2001), “Coalitional Stability of Multi-Party Systems: Evidence from Poland”, *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(2): 294-449.

Despite its patchwork composition and its programmatic incohesiveness, the AWS contained the promise of a confessional party organising the right-wing. The proeminence of the Solidarity Trade Union had an ideological dimension, and its Christian democratic programme of social Catholic conservatism was the main influence of the electoral coalition's 1997 programme. The party's stances on social issues follow the Catholic Church doctrine. The AWS's opposition to abortion revealed the belief in God-given Natural Law as the "right to life of each human being from conception to natural death".¹⁸⁵ A symbolic alliance with the interwar Christian democratic party, the Christian democratic Labour Party (CD-SP) symbolised the commitment to this ideology. The declaration of understanding illustrates the constraints imposed by the nationalist heritage on the development of a universal Christian democratic ideology. "We, the representatives of Christian democracy – the Labour Party, the AWS and the PC, political groups professing and accomplishing the independence of Poland and the patriotic ideals of Christian democracy, inheritors and pursuers of the ideological and political inter-war Christian democratic movement – *recognise the fundamental heritage of Poland and the Nation.*"¹⁸⁶ .

The 1997 AWS electoral platform reflected the NSZZ's commitment to the family as the basic economic community, a peculiar position for a trade union, since these generally identify with the working class.¹⁸⁷ "The family is the basis of the society, where each human being is educated and develops. We will foster the economy of the family with pro-family

¹⁸⁵ Programowe Wystąpienie na Konwencji Wyborczej AWS Mariana Krzaklewskiego. Bezpieczna. Przyszłość. Rodzina na Swoim, (Program of Marian Krzaklewski, Security, Future, Your Family, Submitted to the AWS Electoral Convention), 2000.

¹⁸⁶ PC-AWS Chrześcijańska Demokracja-Stronictwo Pracy "Umowa Polityczna w Sprawie Zjednoczenia Polskiej Chrześcijańskiej Demokracji" (Political Agreement on the unity of Polish Christian Democracy), 24 May 1998. The Labor Party (SP) was the only party of Christian inspiration which truly professed to follow Catholic Social teaching as well as connections to the Christian Democratic International, while explicitly opposing Liberal economic policies and attributing to the state the role of guaranteeing a minimum safety net.

¹⁸⁷ Meardi, G. (2002), "The Trojan Horse for the Americanisation of Europe? Polish Industrial Relations Towards the EU", European Journal of Industrial Relations, 8(1): 77-100.

taxes and benefits.”¹⁸⁸ However, besides these general ideological propositions, the AWS’s incohesiveness made it very difficult to propose a coherent set of policy stances.¹⁸⁹ If on the one hand the AWS defended the limitation of the redistributive role of the state by privatising pension funds, decreasing subsidies for industry and diminishing corporate taxes, on the other it supported strong public financial backing for the agricultural sector,¹⁹⁰ opposed the flexibilisation of the labour code and defended universal coverage and high health protection.

The ideological build up within the AWS government

After winning a majority in the September 1997 legislative elections the AWS leader Marian Krzaklewski took another step in the attempt to unify the right under Christian democratic principles. In November 1997 a new party, the Solidarity leadership created the AWS Social Movement (AWS RS) to replace the Trade Union as it retreated to its core industrial functions. The AWS RS leader was Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek while Marian Krzaklewski remained the leader of Solidarity Trade Union. Both expected the members of the AWS parliamentary caucus majority to relinquish the membership of their parties and become members of the RS AWS. However, none of the AWS’s MPs but the trade unionists left their original parties and the AWS RS never became the basis of a unified Christian democratic centre. Contrary to the Solidarity leadership desires and expectations the marked programmatic differences among AWS’s constituent members got stronger rather than weaker as governing time went by. Also within the Christian democratic caucus of the AWS was the Polish Party of Christian Democrats (PPChD).

Benefiting from their acquired parliamentary and governmental status, the AWS segments built increasingly well-defined ideological identities. The ZChN’s process of

¹⁸⁸ Program Akcji Wyborczej Solidarność, (Program of AWS), Warsaw: May 1997.

¹⁸⁹ Graniszewski, L. “Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność - Sojusz Prawicy Demokratycznej”, (AWS-SLD) in Geberthener, S. (red.), Wybory '97, Partie i Programy Wyborcze, Elipsa: Warsaw, p.82.

ideological consolidation is a case in point. The ZChN was the strongest nationalist group within the AWS and eager to exert influence in the government. Its moderate wing, reinforced by access to office, made inroads into diminishing the radicals' influence within the party, in the attempt to play down its nationalist identity. In July 1998 they expelled extremist nationalist elements linked with Jan Łopuszanski from the AWS parliamentary caucus. Łopuszanski then created in April 1999 its own parliamentary club, the Polish Agreement (PP).

The ZChN, whose ideology until then focused exclusively on fundamental questions on the nature of the state, led the party to formulate an economic programme along neoliberal lines. Its economic programme urged the creation of a pro-entrepreneurial economic environment by increasing benefits to entrepreneurs, ensuring low interest rates for investors, low pensions and low taxes.¹⁹¹ The neoliberal principle of individual sovereignty in the market made the party more alike to other conservative parties in Europe, such as the British Conservative party. However, the attempt to stake a conservative identity remained very problematic, for strong factions within the party opposed it in fear of giving up their "ideological purity".¹⁹² Although at the end of the AWS mandate in 2001 the ZChN's profile was far from the extreme clerical nationalism of the early nineties, the party's transformation was limited by internal resistance. Other smaller nationalist parties existed in the AWS, such as the Coalition of Polish Families, the Polish Family and the National League. Their accommodation to the coalition was harder than the ZChN's, and its confrontative methods led them to often try to veto the works of the coalition.

¹⁹⁰ AWS Program Wyborczy (AWS 1997 Election Program), Warsaw: April 1997.

¹⁹¹ Deklaracja Programowa ZChN, (ZChN 's Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: May 2000.

¹⁹² Millard, F. and Lewis, P. (2001), "The Development of Institutions in Post-Communist Poland", in Ágh, A. and Pridham, G. Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in East-Central Europe, Manchester University Press: Manchester.

Equally, the AWS government was a conducive environment to the ideological and organisational consolidation of the conservative group. Previously dispersed conservative groupings became more organised and institutionalised within the AWS. Its focal point was the Conservative People's Party (SKL), a party created under the strong leadership of Jan Rokita in 1997. In February 1999 other small conservatives merged with the SKL, thus strengthening its position. This was initially portrayed by the AWS leadership as a step towards a stronger party structure, but the SKL never wished to give up its own identity for a wider Christian democratic party entity, especially not one under the leadership of the Solidarity Trade Union. The SKL's combination of neo-liberal and moderate Catholic and national positions was seen as serving a broad electoral appeal on which to base the centre right. This strand was the one closest to the UW liberals.

From late 1998 the structure of the AWS Political Council, the chief coordinating body of the AWS, reflected the strengthening of separate identities of the AWS ideological segments, and the party effectively became a federation of the SKL, the ZChN, the PPChD and the AWS RS. The Prime Minister, Jerzy Buzek, became a negotiator between, on the one hand, the different parties of the AWS and, on the other, its coalition partner, the UW.

The Freedom Union's remake of liberalism

In preparation for the 1997 elections the liberal camp underwent an extensive ideological and organisational restructuring. While the first Polish liberal party, the UD, embodied the notion of civil society, in the mid-nineties economic liberalism was the defining feature of the new liberal party. The UW's ideological transformation was far from peaceful and the latent conflict that it provoked would eventually split the party in 2001.¹⁹³ Created in 1995, the UW incorporated the neo-liberal Congress of Liberal Democrats (KLD) reinforcing

¹⁹³ Author's interview with Andrzej Potocki, UD and UW's MP and Spokesperson, July 2003.

its neoliberal wing and making the intellectuals' political liberalism relatively weaker.¹⁹⁴ An election of Leszek Balcerowicz to the chairmanship testified the commitment to the market and the downgrading of political values previously at the core of the UD's concerns.¹⁹⁵ The UD thus distinguished itself clearly both from the economic protectionism and the social conservatism of the emerging AWS.

The liberals's change of identity was not peaceful and in the period leading to the 2001 parliamentary elections, the party was to suffer from a severe internal conflict between the neo-liberals, and the UD's party elite composed of old time dissidents based on conceptions of political liberalism.¹⁹⁶ The mutual recriminations concerned the transformation of the UW into a party of power, while political liberals were accused of libertarianism. The conflict also concerned divergent political conceptions: the economic liberals saw a mild version of political nationalism as an appropriate secondary complement for a centrist conservative profile. This was against the liberal Solidarity attachment to the idea of a plural civil society. In the midst of this internal conflict, the party pulled out of government in June 2000 and failed to put forward a candidate for the October 2000 presidential elections.

The nationalists outside the AWS: the Movement for the Republic (ROP)

The Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland (ROP) was created in the aftermath of the first round of the presidential election in 1995, after a relatively successful performance by Jan Olszewski in these elections. With the characteristic speed that political alliances are forged and dismissed on the Polish right, Jan Olszewski dissolved the Movement for the Republic (RdR), the party he formed in 1993 joining the nationalist splinters

¹⁹⁴ Kopczynski, M. (2000), "The Formation of the Post-Solidarity Political Parties. The Case of the Freedom Union", in Kubiak, H. and Wiatr, J.J. Between Animosity and Utility, Political Parties and Their Matrix, Warsaw: Scholar, p. 128.

¹⁹⁵ Deklaracja Założycielka Unia Wolności, (Founding Congress Documents), Warsaw: 1995.

¹⁹⁶ Author's interview with Andrzej Potocki, UD and UW's MP and Spokesperson, July 2003.

of the PC. The ROP was an alternative rallying point to the AWS in the 1997 legislative elections, attracting nationalist and religious personalities. With 10 per cent of the votes, the ROP became a possible coalition partner for the AWS.

The ROP's ideological declaration gave an absolutely central role to the nation in the creation of the party's identity.¹⁹⁷ To convey the image of a patriotic Catholic party, religious symbolism was repeatedly used, and rhetoric distinguished between true patriots and the elites (mainly the UW and the SLD) who were portrayed as anti-independentist.¹⁹⁸ During the controversy around the Constitutional Referendum in 1997, the ROP campaigned strongly against Constitutional amendments 90 and 91 by arguing that they "threaten Polish sovereignty." The Polish New Constitution was regarded as "anti-Christian, because it allows the creation of religious sects and limits citizens' rights. It is an act of anti-independentist, anti-Christian forces in the Polish parliament."¹⁹⁹ The ROP's nationalism was the basis of an authoritarian stance in social terms, in particular by limiting the definition of lifestyles acceptable by the nation and rejected the existence of different minorities, not only of ethnic but also of religious and sexual orientation. Although advocating a formal separation between church and state, the party defended a strong role for the church in politics and society.

The main theme of the ROP's founding declaration, the *Agreement with Poland*, is a plea for state control over the national economy.²⁰⁰ The ideological declaration focused on economic nationalism, proposing protectionist policies that argued for limitations on foreign trade and foreign direct investment. The ROP argued that unemployment should be tackled through the creation of public jobs and pension funds guaranteed by the state, supported housing for young couples and a pro-family tax system. Social policies were also justified in nationalist terms: "A nation where a third of the population lives under the poverty level will

¹⁹⁷ Umowa z Polską, (Agreement with Poland), Warsaw: 1996.

¹⁹⁸ Karta Niepodległości, (Charter for Independence), Warsaw: November 1996.

¹⁹⁹ Jakucki, P. (1997), Kampania Kłamstwa, (Campaign of Lies), Nasza Polska, 1995.

²⁰⁰ Umowa z Polską, (Agreement with Poland), Warsaw: May 1996.

not be able to be independent.”²⁰¹ The ROP called for the establishment of a new system of health insurance, a position that was close to that of the Solidarity Trade Union. The approach to agricultural reform was conservative in that it defended the primacy of the family farming.

Parties' strategies between 1997-2001

The 1993 elections drew the limits of an emerging core. Not only were the ex-communists to form a government in coalition with the PSL but also the exclusion of the right-wing parties from parliament in the 1993 elections made the possibility of a coalition between different parties a necessity. The partial structuration of the party system in the mid nineties resulted from the strategic calculations of post-Solidarity leaders in face of an emerging strong social democrat party. In order to get office, the right wing political leaders were forced to change their strategic behaviour, find compromises and coalesce. This AWS and the UW were thus the result of coalitions of political groups willing to achieve office. The ZChN, despite its earlier clericalism and nationalism, joined the AWS.

By choosing the UW rather than the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) as its coalition partner, the AWS leadership reinforced its centrist profile,²⁰² but the UW was considered too liberal for important sections of the AWS. This choice appeared a good omen for a centrist party with a Christian cosmopolitan ethos. The AWS campaign was based on a moderate platform and made inroads into the political centre ground, avoiding religious fundamentalist rhetoric.²⁰³ In its early days the AWS tactics proved successful in promoting the moderation of political forces such as the ZChN, by attracting it into the political centre ground,²⁰⁴ and its

²⁰¹ Umowa z Polską, (Agreement with Poland), Warsaw: May 1996.

²⁰² Author's interview with Andrzej Potocki, UD and UW's MP and Spokesperson, July 2003.

²⁰³ Szczerbiak, A. (1998), "Electoral Politics in Poland: The Parliamentary Elections of 1997", Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 14(3): 58-83, p. 63.

²⁰⁴ Deklaracja Programowa ZChN, (ZChN's Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: May 2000.

electoral platform was characterized by a moderate support for the Church's intervention in public life and a conservative view of the social order.

In the mid-nineties party reformulation the rebirth of the nationalist right resumed with the constitution of the ROP as an anchor of this sector, at the same time as the AWS constituted itself. Jan Olszewski, a relatively popular presidential candidate, attracted considerable support in the polls for his new party. The ROP was assumedly an alternative polarising project that mobilized the remaining post-Solidairty elite that did not join the AWS. Contrary to the AWS, the ROP showed signs of extremist propaganda tactics during the Constitutional Debate in 1997.²⁰⁵ Attempts of cooperation between the AWS and the ROP in the form of pre-electoral or post-electoral coalitions failed.²⁰⁶ In the run up to the 2001 elections the ROP initially joined the AWSP, only to leave it shortly before the elections. After refusing advances from Lech Kaszynski's PiS, Jan Olszewski and some followers joined the LPR.²⁰⁷

During the 1997-2001 AWS-UW government emerged another political grouping announcing the emergence of a polarising nationalist threat, the Polish Agreement (PP). The PP emerged from the expulsion of the most extremist elements of the ZChN leadered by Jan Łopuszanski, on an ultra Catholic and nationalist ticket.²⁰⁸ The PP set itself clearly against the core of politics. "In the last elections, Poles voted but did not choose. Whether they support the left, the centre or the right –they supported the same security, foreign and economic

²⁰⁵ RFE/RL Newslines, 12 May 1997.

²⁰⁶ In April 1998, one of the largest parliamentary parties performed a secret survey to measure potential benefits from coalitions with various partners. Kaminski, M. (2001), "Coalitional Stability of Multi-Party Systems: Evidence from Poland", *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(2): 294-449.

²⁰⁷ RFE/RL Newslines, 10 May 1999.

²⁰⁸ RFE/RL Newslines, 27 July 1998.

policies. Elections do not bring change. The PP wants to give the Poles the possibility of authentic choice.”²⁰⁹

European Attitudes 1993-2001

The Union of Freedom (UW) maintained its predecessor's – the UD – hard Europhile attitude. The UW's European stance supports the hypothesis that economic ideologies give rise to conditional attitudes towards European integration, eventually hardened by a secondary political evaluation of integration – hypothesis 2.1. While in the early nineties the UD's Hard Europhilism spoke for its commitment to civil society, the UW neo-liberals supported the EU mostly for economic reasons. “The EU accelerates the timing of our economic growth – it enlarges the market for entrepreneurs and it increases the weight of investment capital and Poland will benefit from financial help while diminishing unemployment through economic modernisation.”²¹⁰ However, some of the harder neo-liberals showed a veiled scepticism regarding the EU regulatory framework. Sporadically the EU was negatively portrayed as imposing too much bureaucratic constraints on the Polish and European markets. Although the overall evaluation of integration was still positive, the economic liberals made clear that this support was conditional on the balance between the promotion of freedom and the regulation of the European market.

The rise and demise of Christian democracy in the AWS, and the part played by nationalists in it, illustrates the predictions contained in hypothesis 1, that is, that parties based on national or cosmopolitan conceptions of the political community are respectively unconditional opponents or supporters of European integration, i.e. hard Eurosceptics or hard

²⁰⁹ Komunikat Porozumienie Polskie, (Communiqué of the Polish Agreement), Warsaw: November 1999.

²¹⁰ Deklaracja programowa V Kongresu Unii Wolności, (Programmatic Declaration V Congress of the Freedom Union), December 2000.

Europhiles. The AWS's European stance between 1996 and early 1998 reflected the coalition's Christian democratic ideology. The AWS slogan for the 1997 elections, 'twice yes', was meant as a bold approval of integration (to both the EU and to NATO). Further elaborating on the European issue, the AWS reserved for Poland the role of missionary in a "Europe that is losing its roots". In a parallel metaphor to Mickiewicz's, the AWS portrayed Poland as the 'Christ of nations'.²¹¹ Poland's integration in the EU would bring Europe back to its Christian values. "We cherish our thousand-year long history and these traditional values are what we need, first of all in Europe and then in the entire world."²¹² The AWS reserved for Poland the role of missionary in a "Europe that is losing its roots".²¹³

During its early days, the moderate forces within the AWS government tried to convince the ZChN's nationalists of the goodness of European Integration. This was aided by the nationalists' own effort to play down their identity in favour of a moderate conservative identity. An example of such tactics was the appointment of ZChN's leader, Ryszard Czarnecki, to head the European Integration Committee (KIE), the governmental body coordinating the issues related to EU accession. At the time it was thought that giving the ZChN control over the technical aspects of European integration would help to convert the party to the EU.

This was somehow complemented by an effort from inside the party to re-evaluate the relationship between nationalism and European integration. The ZChN's founder and ideologue, Wiesław Chrzanowski, attempts to reformulate the relationship between the national movement and the European supranationalism were however doomed. The following quote illustrates the impossibility to reconcile nationalism with supranationalism: "The national movement (...) has a new look and sees a historical chance for Poland. This is

²¹¹ Program Wyborczy 1997, (AWS's 1997 Election Program), April 1997.

²¹² Marian Krzaklewski, 21 Points for the XXI Century, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 10 September 1997.

²¹³ AWS Program Wyborczy 1997, (AWS Electoral Programme), April 1997.

first of all to unite Europe. Protest against unification is sterile. (...) The only question is: which Europe? The task of the national group is to look for partners with similar outlooks in different countries and fight for a Europe of the Fatherlands, not of the regions. (...) a Europe respectful of the peculiarities of the national cultures, not a supranational bureaucracy.”²¹⁴

The ZChN’s persistent opposition to integration illustrates the sufficiency of nationalism to determine scepticism to the EU, even in face of neo-liberal approval of the Common Market and the pressure of office-seeking considerations.

The consensus attained within the AWS concerning integration in 1997 depended on the success of Christian democracy as a party identity. But as the influence of the nationalists increased and the conflicts deepened in the run up to the 2000 presidential elections, Eurosceptic positions were articulated. Facing the opposition of the liberals and Christian democrats to his presidential candidature, Marian Krzaklewski looked for support among the nationalists, further alienating the liberal wing and triggering the coalition’s disintegration. Krzaklewski opened his election campaign with a Eurosceptic discourse. While in the Parliamentary debate in August 1999 Krzaklewski stated that, “Poland wants to be a member of the EU not because Brussels wants it (...) but because that fits our national interest”,²¹⁵ in his inaugural speech as a presidential candidate, Krzaklewski strongly questioned the conflation of the national interest with European integration. “We are now deciding if Poland will take the place that belongs to it among the free states that remember its national identity, or if it will become the subject of ideological experiments, whose objective is to create a new so-called European nation.”²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Interview with Chrzanowski, W. “Przyszłość Ludu do Narodu”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14 April 2001

²¹⁵ Marian Krzaklewski’s speech to the Sejm, Stenographia Wydawnictwa, 8 September 1999.

²¹⁶ Marian Krzaklewski “Strategia Zwycięstwa” (A Strategy for Victory), *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 11 July 2000.

The Eurosceptic faction in the 1997-2001 Sejm was initially confined to ROP, but was later joined by the hard Eurosceptic splinter of the ZChN lead by Jan Łopuszanski, the Polish Agreement (PP). The stances of both nationalist parties confirm hypothesis 1. Jan Olszewski's hard Euroscepticism was based on political conceptions but was expressed mainly in economic arguments against integration. The ROP coined the term Eurorealism, which although appearing to argue for an objective assessment of European integration, effectively meant opposition to the project as the standards against which integration was measured resulted in it being considered incompatible with the national interest.²¹⁷ In its founding declaration, *Agreement with Poland*, the ROP demanded that integration takes place only if defined as a partnership project, and advocated tough conditions on the Polish accession, especially concerning the agricultural integration."²¹⁸ This attitude appears most significant as it was formulated in 1996 when 80 per cent of the population supported accession to the EU.²¹⁹ The ROP rejected integration and assumed that by threatening Polish sovereignty the interests of the EU were in principle opposed to Polish national interests. Stressing economic sovereignty in ROP's discourse disguised a politically motivated antagonism to a project that goes against the conception of state control over the destiny of its population. Jan Łopuszanski's Agreement with Poland (PP) was the first parliamentary party to openly oppose European integration. Jan Łopuszanski ran his presidential campaign in the autumn of 2000 solely on the European issue, and argued that his opposition to integration was meant to avoid "the future spill of blood".²²⁰

²¹⁷ Umowa z Polską, (Agreement with Poland), Warsaw: May 1996.

²¹⁸ Założenia Programowe Społeczno-Gospodarcze Odbudowy Kraju (Socio-Economic Program for the Reconstruction of the Country), Warsaw: April 1997.

²¹⁹ RFE/RL Newline, 6 August 1996.

²²⁰ Program Wyborczy Kandydata na Prezydenta RP Jana Łopuszanskiego, Wybieram Niepodległą Polskę, (Electoral Program of the Candidate to the Polish Presidency, Jan Łopuszanski, We Choose an Independent Poland), 23 July 2000, Warsaw: 2000.

Reversal: the 2001 elections and its aftermath

New Conservatism: The Platform of Citizens (PO)

The gradual consolidation of the party system taking place from 1993 was partially reversed, and a multipolar party system replaced the emerging bipolar system. As factional infighting grew and no ideological consensus emerged in the AWS, a succession of splits, partially reflecting ideological lines, partially the desire to build a centrist conservative party destroyed the AWS. Once again, the right entered the Sejm organised in new parties from previous elections.

As is often the case in Poland, the first split in the AWS was triggered by the success of the presidential bid of Andrzej Olechowski, who had won 17% of the votes in 2000 and joined Maciej Plazynski, a conservative from the AWS, and Donald Tusk, a liberal from the UW, to form the Citizen's Platform (PO). The PO joined conservatives from the SKL and the UW. The ideological incohesiveness of the right-wing parties - the UD, the PC, the AWS and to a certain extent the UW - were condemned by the PO. In face of the failure of the AWS tried to avoid "being too broad in the representation of interests, focusing on some promises rather than attempting to fulfil too many." However, of the two models of right-wing formations in Europe, "the example of unified formation in Germany and Britain is preferred to the Italian and the French."²²¹ These two apparently contradictory pledges, one for a narrow interest representation and the second for a broad and unified right-wing party are in fact a disguised attack on the inclusion of the Solidarity trade union in the AWS and the pledge for a liberal conservative party based on economic neo-liberalism. The PO follows these two considerations.

The party's founding declaration is entitled "To free the energies of Poles" and it states "For the Citizens' Platform the solution for the future of Poland and the Poles is to free the entrepreneurs and the national talent (...). However, we will not be able to do so if the

²²¹ Hall, A. Wasted Chance, Rzeczpospolita, 2 January 2001.

economy continues to be slowed down by multiple bureaucratic powers, bad laws and high taxes".²²²

Economic liberalism was the party's identifying element, visible in the PO's pledge for the de-bureaucratisation and a thinning down of state functions.²²³ The PO defended a flat income tax rate of 15 percent for which Leszek Balcerowicz had fought for in 1999 as Finance Minister. As a measure to create a favourable entrepreneurial environment, especially for the small and medium-sized enterprises, the party supported the liberalisation of the labour code. In terms of social policy it supported the annihilation of the recently formed Health Agencies and its replacement with a regulatory package of basic services guaranteed by the state. The PO's electoral platform views social aid as a way to create a safety net for the poor. In order to increase the control of public finances the party backs the independence of National Central Bank to dictate monetary policy. Their proposition for agricultural reform considers that agriculture should be governed through the same principles of other economic sectors.

The political dimension of the party's stances is secondary for its identification, but the 2001 program points to a conservative position by opposing the liberalisation of abortion and drugs consumption and defending pro-family policies, and suggests the mild commitment to the nation characteristic of liberal conservatives.

²²² Program. 2001 Rok, Platforma Obywatelski, (Programme Year 2001, Citizens' Platform), 2001.

²²³ Program. 2001 Rok, Platforma Obywatelski, (Programme Year 2001, Citizens' Platform), 2001.

National Conservatism: The Law and Justice (PiS)

The other conservative splinter from the AWS was the Law and Justice (PiS) . This initially started as a “taxi party” for the Kaszynski brothers, building on the reputation of Lech Kaszynski as a tough Justice Minister in the AWS government. Kaszynski, who was never a member of the AWS, reacted to the disintegration of the electoral coalition by calling to those that were “clean” to join him and form a new party. This call was heard by several politicians of the ZChN and therefore the PiS attracted a majority of Catholic nationalists, such as Artur Zawisza and Marek Jurek. The party programme starts by declaring: “Poland is in a state of crisis. For many years several sectors suffer from lack of state control; the state is dysfunctional and corrupt and the economic system suffers from a dangerous pathology.”²²⁴ The party contrasts the terrible situation of the state with the “unusual dynamism of the Polish nation”, which deserves to be supported. “The tempo of our march was too slow, matching neither our needs, nor our possibilities.”²²⁵

The rhetoric dichotomy between the nation and the state is closely associated to one of the main themes of the 2001 election manifesto, the “cleaning up” of the political elite, the civil service and, eventually, the whole society from communist collaborators. In the PiS’s 2001 programme there are strong echoes of the romantic nationalists’ conception of “moral purity” as a defining feature of the Polish nation. Lustration is thus nothing less than part of a nation-building project to identify the deserving Polish citizens.

The PiS’s nationalism is tempered by the commitment to individual citizens’s welfare in the economic sphere; the party pledges the defense of the “small man” not only from organised crime but also from a corrupt and abusive elite that controls the state and the economy. Therefore, although the party programme refers extensively to the nation, it also

²²⁴ Program Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, (Program of Law and Justice), August 2001, Warsaw: 2001.

²²⁵ *Idem*.

attributes a central role to the individual, as the one to be protected from the state. The PiS's economic ethos was initially left undefined, partly due to the party focus on political issues, partly from the conflict between the neo-liberal and the interventionist wings of the party. Despite hosting a neoliberal faction,²²⁶ the PiS holds a middle-of-the-road economic policy. The PiS wanted to retain two tax rates - 18 and 32 per cent as well as tax write-offs, including measures that favour larger families. The programme includes some state sponsored measures to halve unemployment, such as taxes write-offs for every job created. The PiS was in no hurry to control the fiscal deficit and propose to reduce the Central Bank (NBP) independence, adding to his mandate the goal of ensuring economic growth while controlling inflation, and pledging the elimination of the monetary policy council.

Dmowski's remake: the League of Polish Families (LPR)

On the aftermath of the AWS dissolution, a new version of Catholic nationalism emerged in the form of the League of Polish Families (LPR), joining some members of the ROP and Jan Łopuszanski's Polish Agreement. Its leader, Roman Giertych, is a descendent of a family of nationalist ideologues. The LPR's main political concept of community is the nation, and its higher mission is to defend the nation and its particular devotion to Catholicism from its enemies. Such objectives occupy almost entirely its programme.²²⁷ This mission is to be accomplished, first of all, by the abolition of articles 90 and 91 of the Constitution related to the supremacy of international over Portuguese law, which lead to "the annihilation of Polish sovereignty". The national principle urges the party "not to accept the subordination of Polish politics to foreign purposes. (...) The LPR pursues Polish interests instead of the doctrine of

²²⁶ Wroński, P. "PiS Pracuje Nad Programem Gospodarczym. Co Zamiast Hausnera?", (PiS Works on its Economic Program: What Instead of Hausner?), *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 3 February 2004.

international adjustment that predominates nowadays.”²²⁸ In every declaration the party’s nationalism is justified in terms of its Catholicism. The Polish special brand of Catholicism is the prime object to be protected from foreign influence. The religious extremist character of the party makes it a defender of a strong interference by the Church in state affairs, and the strict implementation of the Catholic Social Doctrine.²²⁹

The party is a federation of small political and religious organisations close to the nationalist wing of the Polish Catholic Church, and combines the same extreme clericalism and nationalism specific to part of the Polish Catholic hierarchy, but particularly to Redemptorist father Ryzyk, the director of the Catholic fundamentalist Radio station Radio Marjia. Father Ryzyk has a direct role in the creation of a political party and is considered its *eminence grise*. Some youth movements associated with the LPR are typical extreme-right movements with fascist overtones like Młoda Wchechpolska (All-Polish Youth), and represent the propensity to extremist rhetoric founded in integral religious nationalism present in Polish political thinking since the XIX century.

Despite its support for a national economic system, the party has not produced a populist economic programme; on the contrary, it defends neo-liberal economic ideals. Proposals for tax cuts for small family businesses are directed towards the middle class and the petty bourgeoisie.

Strategic choices: 2001 and 2005

The change in the rules introduced in 1993 stimulated greater proportionality – a decrease in the number of districts to 41 and the ending of the National List, plus the application pof the Sainte Langue system. These rules favoured the smaller post-AWS

²²⁷ Polsce - Niepodległość, Polakom – Praca, Chleb, Mieszkania, (Polish Independence, Poles Work, Bread and Housing), Warsaw: 2001.

²²⁸ Liga Polski Rodzina, Tezy Programowe, (Programatic Thesis), 2001.

parties, which were divided in two major parties – the PiS and the PO – facing the ex-communists who enjoyed in 2001 very high levels of popularity (it won 41%) of the vote. Both the PiS and the PO's office-seeking strategies at the turn of the millenium were cautious and clearly a first stamp in the electoral field.

The term of the SLD was marked by serious scandals and accusations of corruption, leading to a steep decline in the SLD's support. By the end of 2003 the SLD/UP had lost its lead in public opinion to the PO. In early 2004 the deep crisis within the SLD led the Prime Minister Miller to resign and a minority takecare government under Prime Minister Marek Belka to take office until the autumn of 2005. This meant that the campaign started in late 2004, with elections taking place in 25 September 2005 – practically simultaneous to the presidential elections. Both the PiS and the PO pursued centrist strategies, and although in the two years prior to the election it was expected that the two parties would create a coalition and fight the SLD in the elections, the removal from the competition of the SLD candidate led to the two centre parties disputing the electorate between themselves.

The third party of the right emerging from the debacle of the AWS, the LPR, had a clear polarising strategy, frequently resorting to very polemic stances and rhetorics. Its electoral appeal rounded 7 percent on both elections. Despite its radical approach the LPR integrated the government of Lech Kaczynski in the autumn of 2005.

European positions between 2001 and 2005

The victory of Catholic nationalism in the 2001 elections resulted in the emergence of a strong right-wing Eurosceptic lobby in the Polish Sejm. This had important consequences for the last phase of European accession negotiations, on the debate at the time of the accession referendum and the Polish position on the European Constitution.

²²⁹ Idem.

The PiS's European attitude illustrates that nationalism is sufficient for an Europhile stance despite the party being clearly geared to office. The PiS initially tried to hedge its attitude towards European integration. The European issue was absent from PiS's 2001 election manifesto and the closest statement regarding its international commitments was the comment that "It is impossible to maintain a position of neutrality due to Poland's geographical position."²³⁰ The party maintained an ambiguous attitude until the March 2003 party Congress, when a vote on the issue took place. Even though during the June 2003 accession referendum the PiS cautiously stood for a Yes vote and invoked security arguments in favor of Polish integration in the EU, the terms of PiS's opposition to the Constitutional Treaty showed a fundamental aversion to political integration, i.e. hard Euroscepticism. "The Constitutional process is an act of egoism against solidarity. (...) This egoistic stance is deeply rooted in a federalist ideology which is of key importance for the understanding of the (Constitutional) project."²³¹ Such a stance did not waver when the PiS's took office in the autumn of 2005, and with the Polish government under its control, it adopted a very uncooperative posture on the European stage, by ignoring intergovernmental talks to solve the Constitutional crisis.

The party opposes any type of sovereignty transfer to a supranational body. Tensions between Euroscepticism and office led the Kaszynski brothers to try to de-link the issue of European accession from issues of morality, like the support for abortion laws, as a way to convince nationalists like Artur Zawisza or Marek Jurek to support European integration before the accession referendum.²³² The PiS adopted a very hard stance against the revision of the voting formula gained at Nice, during which Poland and Spain obtained 27

²³⁰ Program Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, (Program of Law and Justice), Warsaw: August 2001.

²³¹ "Europa Solidarnych Narodów" - Program Polityki Europejskiej Prawa i Sprawiedliwości" (Europe of Fraternal Nations – Program of European Policy of the

PiS)

²³² Author's interview with Pawel Wronski, journalist of Gazeta Wyborcza, July 2003. PiS's Second Congress was held in March 2003. PiS also demanded that an appendice be added to the Accession Treaty rendering explicit that matters of moral choice, like the law on abortion are matters of exclusive national jurisdiction.

votes in the Council, a similar weight to that of Germany. The importance of this issue owes to its association with the protection of sovereignty cherished by nationalists. Another expression of the PiS's nationalism during the debate on the Constitution is the emphasis the party put on the inclusion of a reference to Christian values in the Preamble of the Constitution.²³³ The PiS joined the LPR, the PSL and the Samoobrona in the demand for a referendum on the ratification of the European Constitution. The PiS is also sceptical of Poland's entry into the Eurozone, postponing such decision to a referendum in 2010.

European position of the Citizens's Platform

Despite being the only Europhile right-wing party, the PO's support for integration is qualified, i.e., the party is soft Europhile.²³⁴ The formulation in the party's electoral program for the 2004 European Parliament elections reveals its conditional nature: "Our key national goal is overcoming economic backwardness. For we can only support a Union that builds favourable conditions for economic development, one that supports entrepreneurship and creativity." In its electoral program for the 2004 European Parliament elections, the party affirmed: "Our key national goal is overcoming economic backwardness. For we can only support a Union that builds consequently favourable conditions for economic development, that supports entrepreneurship and creativity. We do not tolerate policies that limit economic growth".²³⁵ Opposition to the change of voting formula obtained in Nice, coined by the party

²³³ Pawlicki, J. "Polska Wobec Konstytucji UE – Debata w Sejmie", (Poland Facing the EU Constitution – Debate in the Parliament), *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 24 September 2003.

²³⁴ Aleks Szczerbiack, "After the Election, Nearing the Endgame: The Polish Euro-Debate in the Run-Up to the 2003 Accession Referendum", RIIA/OERN Election Briefing Paper, 7, (2001), pp.15.

²³⁵ Program Europejski Platformy Obywatelskiej (The European Program of the Platform of Citizens), Warsaw, 2004.

leader Jan Maria Rokita as “Nice or Death”, reinforced the conditional nature of the party’s Europhilia. We do not tolerate policies that limit economic growth”.²³⁶

During the June 2003 EU accession referendum campaign the PO supported conditionally the SLD government in its efforts to secure public support for integration.²³⁷ Moreover, the party’s critique of excessive state bureaucracy and red tape, a theme at the core of the party identity, was extended to the EU level. As a disguised attack on the EU’s economic regulatory role, the critique of the EU bureaucracy is undertaken by the economic neo-liberal faction within the party. Hard economic neo-liberals, like Janusz Lewandowski, articulated this critique more openly by deeming attempts to regulate the internal market as incoherent with the favoured principles of European integration, which are defined as market liberalisation.²³⁸ During the debates on the Constitutional Treaty, the PO took a hard stance, coined by one of the PO’s leaders, Jan Maria Rokita, as “Nice or Death”. The penchant for viewing the nation as the basic political community became clearer as the party affirmed its conservative identity during the 2005 elections. Of the right-wing parties, the LPR is the most openly Eurosceptic, and used every means to disrupt the process of integration, such as trying to impede the transposition of European law into the Polish legal system.²³⁹ The LPR ran the 2001 parliamentary campaign on an anti-European ticket, arguing that integration into the EU would compromise the sacred sovereignty of the Polish state. This led the LPR to point to the supremacy of European Law over the Polish Constitution as the crucial argument of its anti-European agenda.

²³⁶ Program Europejski Platformy Obywatelskiej, (The European Program of the Platform of Citizens), Warsaw, 2004.

²³⁷ Szczerbiak, A. (2001), “After the Election, Nearing the Endgame: The Polish Euro-Debate in the Run-Up to the 2003 Accession Referendum”, *RIIA/OERN Research Paper*, 7, p.15.

²³⁸ Janusz Lewandowski, speech in the Conference on Transatlantic Relations, Poland, Europe, America, Instytut Spraw Publicznych, June 2001.

²³⁹ Author’s interview with Mariusz Dąca, UKiE’s official in charge of relations with the Polish Sejm for issues of the law harmonization, July 2002.

However, unlike other hard Eurosceptic parties, the LPR run for the 2004 EP elections, winning an impressive 17 percent of the votes cast. Immediately after the referendum on European accession took place in June 2003, Roman Giertych declared that although not changing its opinion on the goodness of European integration, he accepted the overwhelming endorsement of accession by the Polish population and considered the referendum results as an expression of popular sovereignty.²⁴⁰ In this way Giertych distanced himself from other far right nationalists who claimed the results of the referendum to be flawed. These have generally refused to accept the outcomes of the democratic processes related to European integration.

Analysis

This chapter provides a description of the troubled formation of right wing parties, in terms of their ideology, strategy and positions on European integration. This description is the basis for an analysis of the effects of normative political ethos, in particular attitudes towards nationalism, on parties' positions on European integration. By the end of the XX century it was clear that the post-Solidarity elite was divided by its attitudes on European integration, and that the division between Europhiles and Eurosceptics had an important impact on the evolution of the party system. The chapter is witness to the impact of a normative political ethos on parties' positions on European integration, even when these effects are harmful for parties electoral and office seeking goals.

The analysis of parties' ideological formation on the right reveals the contrast between the extreme volatility of party organisations and the resilience of particular ideologies. New parties single-handedly re-used the ideologies of defunct parties, making use

²⁴⁰ Interview of Roman Giertych with Gazeta Wyborcza, June 2003.

of some limited leeway to reinterpret them. All party families went through some ideological recycling, but nationalist parties were constantly changing their form of organization. This trend was concomitant with these parties' increasing centrality and rising weight. In the early nineties nationalist parties - the ZChN, the KPN, the RdR and the ROP - were fragmented and minoritarian. The major party realignment of the mid nineties resulted in the integration of most of these parties in the governmental coalition, the AWS. By the turn of the century it became clear these parties were an increasingly influential and divisive force in parliament and in government, and nationalism was also becoming a winning ticket on the ballot box. In the 2001 elections, for the first time, one of the main right wing formations, the PiS, made nationalism its central ideological tenet. The 2005 elections gave the electoral victory to the PiS and in March 2006 the formation of a governmental coalition between the PiS, the LPR and Samoobrona meant nationalists controlled the destinies of the country until the coalition demise.

The nationalists' increasing success contrasted with the failed attempts to establish a Christian democratic party. The two trends seem related. The nationalists' participation in Christian democratic coalitions was controversial and divisive and they certainly played a part in their demise. The creation of the AWS in 1996 represented an attempt to face the increasingly strong SLD, with a coalition of post-Solidarity forces of diverse ideological persuasions under the common heading of Christian democracy. Integrating the AWS required disciplining the constituent parties to the main goal of winning elections, the most problematic among them being the containment of nationalists. In political terms there was an important effort to bring in line the positions of the parties, particularly because of the perceived necessity to get the parties to agree on an Europhile stance based on Christian cosmopolitanism. When joining the AWS, the ZChN attempted to downgrade nationalism by adopting a set of economic neo-liberal stances and transform ideologically into a conservative party. But contrary to the building up of different ideological groups within the party coalition counteracted the centralising ambitions of the trade union's leader, Marian Krzaklewski. The candidature of Marian Krzaklewski to the presidency exposed a stalemate in the fight for power between Christian democrats, conservatives, trade unionists and nationalists. Facing the opposition of conservatives for its candidature, Marian Krzaklewski

sought the support of nationalists, deepening the ideological rifts dividing the AWS's groupings.

The liberal camp was initially leadered by Solidarity intellectuals, dissidents promoting civil rights and the creation of a parallel society as an alternative to the communist regime. While political liberalism was the identifying ethos of the first liberal party - the Union of Democracy – the party realignment of the mid-nineties also affected the liberals, who merged with a smaller economic liberal party and created the Freedom Union, a party identified by economic neo-liberalism. The second important transformation of the Polish right in the turn of the millennium saw the virtual abandon of political liberalism and the creation of a liberal conservative party, the Platform of Citizens, combining economic liberalism and a nationalist attitude.

The Polish right wing parties' European positions are a witness to the importance of attitudes towards nationalism to explain parties' positions on integration. The post-Solidarity camp was the battlefield between two opposing conceptions of political community – nationalism and Christian democratic religious cosmopolitanism. The victory of nationalism over Christian democracy has thus resulted in the rise of Euroscepticism among the Polish right.

Several nationalist parties are a practical demonstration of the impact of the political ethos on a party's attitude towards European integration, being thus a good illustration of hypothesis 1. The sufficiency of nationalist conceptions for unconditional Euroscepticism is illustrated by nationalists' responses to European integration during the hazardous process of party system building. Nationalist parties, independently of their Catholic or laic orientation, polarising or centrist strategy, neo-liberal or protectionist economic positions, took an *a priori* dislike of European integration, assuming increasingly openly their opposition to accession as the century drove to a close.

In the years that followed the transition, the symbolic clout of Europe meant that the ZChN and other nationalist parties were cautious in their assessment of European integration. However, already in 1992 the party was doubting of the fundamental goodness of integration and, after the conclusion of the Europe Agreements, demanded whether integration was compatible with the Polish national interests. In the mid-nineties the newly

formed nationalist platform, the ROP, goes one step further when demanding whether the “real” interests of Polish were served by European integration, a position coined as Eurorealism. The integration of several nationalist parties – such as the ZChN - on the centre-right coalition, the AWS, has resulted in a temporary silencing of these parties’ Euroscepticism. Integrating the AWS even meant that the ZChN would attempt to transform into a conservative party by adding a neo-liberal economic identity. However, the party’s involvement in the management of the accession process – when its leader became head of KIE - was marked by deep scepticism and led to a halt of the process of legal transposition.

The defeat of Christian democracy, first with the demise of the Centre Agreement in 1991, and with the AWS in 1997 marked the end of an attempt to create a right wing party on a non-nationalist basis. The Centre Agreement was an early attempt to establish an Europhile Catholic identity on the post-Solidarity right-wing. Six years later, the establishment of the AWS, based on the Christian democratic ideology of the trade union resulted in a straightforward approval of integration into the EU and into NATO.

The AWS’s European stance between 1996 and early 1998 reflected the coalition’s Christian democratic ideology. The AWS slogan for the 1997 elections, ‘twice yes’, was a bold approval of integration (to both the EU and NATO). The AWS reserved for Poland the role of missionary in a “Europe that is loosing its roots”.²⁴¹ Poland’s integration in the EU would bring Europe back to its Christian values. “We cherish our thousand-year long history and these traditional values are what we need, first of all in Europe and then in the entire world.”²⁴²

However, from early 1998 the nationalists’ increasing power within the coalition resulted in growing resistance to the government’s policy of fast accession. The AWS moderates’ hope that the experience of office would restrain nationalist opposition to the EU,

²⁴¹ *Program Wyborczy 1997*, (AWS’s 1997 Election Program), April 1997.

²⁴² Marian Krzaklewski, *21 Points into XXI Century*, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 10 September 1997.

most prominently that of the ZChN, thus proved unfounded. In the event, the nationalists' veto kept the AWS government in check.

Some months after the ZChN leader, Ryszard Czarnecki, was appointed head of the Committee for European Integration (KIE) in late 1997, the party's opposition to accession was clear. Despite the ZChN's approval of the liberalising effects of the Single Market, and the strong pressure to comply with the government's official policy, its nationalist conception of the political community was clearly sufficient as a basis of opposition to the transfer of sovereignty to a supranational body. The ZChN's Euroscepticism hampered the transposition of European legislation in the Polish Sejm, made difficult the coordinating role of the Committee for European Integration (KIE)²⁴³ and the capacity to advance negotiation positions.

The influence of the nationalists increased as the AWS's ideological conflicts deepened in the run up to the 2000 presidential elections. Facing the opposition of the liberals and Christian democrats for his presidential candidature, Marian Krzaklewski looked for support among the nationalists, further alienating the liberal wing and triggering the coalition's disintegration. Krzaklewski's opened his election campaign with an Eurosceptic speech. "We are now deciding if Poland will take the place that belongs to it among the free states that remember its national identity, or if it will become the subject of ideological experiments, whose objective is the formation of a new so-called European nation."²⁴⁴ In the months preceding the 2001 elections the AWS would fall apart along the lines of support and opposition to European integration, demonstrating that the European issue was by then the hallmark of ideological disagreement in the Polish right-wing.

²⁴³ Just after the ZChN leader Ryszard Czarnecki was appointed to the Committee for European integration (KIE) chair in late 1997, the UW's leaders started contesting his leadership on the grounds of his anti-European rhetoric. Author's interview with Piotr Nowina-Konopka, July 2000.

²⁴⁴ Marian Krzaklewski "Strategia Zwycięstwa" (A Strategy for Victory), *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 11 July 2000.

The chapter also provides illustration of the impact of normative political ethos on a party's position on European integration, when political attitudes are secondary to the identifying economic dimensions. The liberal camp is a particularly good illustration of the secondary impact of attitudes towards nationalism on a party's European stance. While the first post-1989 Polish liberal party, the Union of Democracy (UD), shows that a primary identification with civil society is sufficient for an unconditional support for European integration, its successor, the neo-liberal Union of Freedom (UW), supported Europe on condition that integration reinforced the liberalisation of Polish economy. The arguments of liberals' Europhilia are basically economic, eventually reinforced by a political cosmopolitanism, reinforcing the party's positive attitude towards integration. The liberal conservative Citizens' Platform (PO) illustrates that, when neo-liberalism is combined with nationalism as a secondary identity, the congruence between the EU and the national interest is conditional on the EU favouring economic liberalisation – exemplifying hypothesis 2.2. The liberals' evolution shows that the combined effect of political and economic dimensions is relevant for parties' attitude towards the EU. The replacement of liberals by liberal conservatives meant the end of an Eurosceptic and divided right-wing.

Analysing the post-Solidarity parties' attitudes on European integration also provides evidence supporting the hypothesis that parties office-seeking strategies can sustain a Europhile position only in the short run. We could see that the AWS's office promises initial hold on nationalists' Euroscepticism was not sustainable in the mid and long run, and that the deep ideological divisions within the party put the coalition existence in jeopardy. The ZChN's Eurosceptic stance testifies to the resilience of nationalists' Euroscepticism in face of office ambitions.

Chapter IV Explaining left-wing parties European positions

This chapter describes the development of the social democrats, agrarians and extreme left development in terms of their ideologies, strategies and also the stances they took towards the European Union between 1989 and 2005. Establishing left wing parties after 1989 was simpler than the reorganizing the post-Solidarity right but involved a more profound reinterpretation of fundamental ideological positions. The deep antagonism the Solidarity activists nurtured towards communists resulted on an almost strict separation between the two elite groups, so much so that a coalition between social democrats and a post-Solidarity party at the national level took place only in 2007, eighteen years after transition was completed. This meant that ex-communist social democrats had to quickly restore their electoral competitiveness if they wanted to survive as a political force. Until 2003, this period was marked by a constant rise in popularity of the social democratic SLD, making it one of the only anchors in the party system. The agrarian party, the PSL saw its popularity peak in 1993 with 15% of the vote, to lower and stabilise around 9% in 1997. Nevertheless, the party became a kingmaker, a junior partner of government coalitions.

The chapter assesses the impact of the identifying dimension on a party's response to the European issue.²⁴⁵ Economic identities, because of their divisible nature, allow for a re-evaluation of the EU, in particular on whether it is a form of "regulatory state" that complements positively the national efforts in that direction. For social democrats and agrarians in accession countries the question was whether by integrating the EU their

economies could achieve a higher degree of regulation than possible if the country faces alone competition in the world market. Because economic goods are by nature divisible and negotiable, the agrarians and social democrats' leadership could evaluate the relative merits of the EU's policy regimes and reconsider their positions on the EU.²⁴⁶ From 1993 the Polish ex-communists transformation resulted in the adoption of an economic regime adapting the concept of social justice to the limitations imposed by globalisation. In parallel to other West European social democratic parties in the 1980s and the 1990s, the ex-communists abandoned economic tenets aimed at full employment and generous welfare state programs and adopted policies seeking at countering class inequalities by shaping the supply-side, i.e., by shaping the conditions of production.²⁴⁷ This resulted in a positive appraisal of integration. The agrarian party's, the PSL, appraisal of European integration gave a positive turn after 1997, changing as a result of the clarification of CAP's application to Polish farmers with the start of the negotiations. As negotiations progressed the party leadership appraised the effects of CAP extension as a priori positive, while continuing to press the Polish government for a hard negotiating stance aimed at establishing a level playing field between farmers from East and Western Europe.

The chapter also considers the secondary impact of social democrats and agrarians' normative political ethos on parties' European attitudes. When attitudes towards nationalism are a secondary identifying element, they reinforce or keep conditional parties' economic evaluation of Europe. Since 1993 Social democrats' cosmopolitanism reinforces their Europhilism. The effects of Polish agrarians' identification with nationalism are also

²⁴⁵ This classification of parties as left.wing is based on the voter and elite survey conducted by Kitschelt, H., et al. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems, Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.285.

²⁴⁶ Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Positions on European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30: 443-59

²⁴⁷ Kitschelt, H. (1994), The Transformation of European Social Democracy, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.7.

discernible, with the party keeping its support on the EU conditional on Europe's contributions to Polish farmers' welfare.

The strategic stances of parties, either polarising or office seeking, are also described, and their validity as explanations for parties' European stances assessed. The evidence in this chapter suggests that an office-seeking strategy can trigger a positive appraisal of European integration, as the SLD's 1993 office seeking strategy and turn in attitudes towards integration demonstrates. With hindsight it appears that the SLD's Europhilia was sustainable only due to an ideological appraisal of integration. In the case of the PSL, its office-seeking strategy since the early nineties was not sufficient to change its attitudes towards integration, and indeed, the reappraisal of CAP came about only when the PSL left office after 1997.

Classifying parties

Social democracy

The social democrats' main identity trait is the commitment to the elimination of differences among classes by counteracting inequalities stemming from positions in the labour market and protecting low and minimum income groups.²⁴⁸ These goals were traditionally pursued by the extension of the right to free or subsidized goods and services, and by policies destined to shape the labour market to full employment. However, in recent years, globalization has been setting a number of conditions that exclude the possibility of state interventionism to shape the conditions of consumption.²⁴⁹ Several authors explain the mechanisms of adaptation of European social democratic parties to these changing

²⁴⁸ Huber, E. Ragin, C. and Stephens, J. (1993), op.cit.

²⁴⁹ Garrett, G. (1996), "Capital Mobility, Trade and Domestic Politics", in Keohane, R. and Milner, H. (eds.), Internationalisation and Domestic Politics, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

conditions. Boix describes it as a shift from “the arena of resource distribution to address the physical and social organization of production and the cultural conditions of consumption in advanced capitalist societies”.²⁵⁰ Social democrats are in the “pursuit of a new growth path to compete in global markets by maintaining certain instruments for influencing the supply-side of the economy. (...) These include the increase of workers’ skills, favouring the production of high value-added and high quality goods.” These policies are also seen as “favouring the workers and the poor”.²⁵¹

Social democrats are traditionally internationalist, a trait that derives from their definition of economic class as the fundamental community upon which the state should compensate for market failures. However, the commitment to left libertarian attitudes of which internationalism is an element, has varied across Europe. Although the legacy of social democracy has a strong commitment to individualism, individuals’ social and economic positions are determined by their integration in socio-economic classes. For social democrats, the class is the fundamental determinant of economic and social activity, and the inequalities for individuals ensuing from this fact should be addressed by the state. This has led some of these parties to remain more attached to the concept of nation-state, considering that the protection of workers’ interest can more easily be achieved in that context.

The present social democratic parties in Central and Eastern Europe had to adapt their economic ethos to an extent that is unprecedented in Europe. Their transformation from communism into social democracy implied the reinterpretation of class as the economic ethos. Not only was the party to abandon the commitment to central planning but it would also renounce Keynesian policies as a means to correct the market distortions inflicted by class. As described in this chapter some of the ex-communist parties quickly reformed their

²⁵⁰ Kitschelt, H. (1994), The Transformation of European Social Democracy, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.7.

²⁵¹ Boix, C. (1998), Political Parties. Growth and Equality, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

economic views and came to conceive the correction of class distortions as a question of supply side economics.

Agrarianism

Before 1989 classifying separately European parties in an agrarian family was controversial since most of European agrarian parties had transformed into Christian democratic parties. However, the democratic transition in Central Eastern Europe has given rise to a number of parties that can only be properly classified in a separate category. Agrarian parties emerged out of the rural-urban cleavage to protect the interests of the rural population. The fundamental identity community of agrarian parties is based on the notion of estate²⁵². This concept was current in XIX century Europe, where social divisions and conflicts were understood in terms of estate, when the rights and privileges granted by the monarchs to some social groups stemmed from land ownership. Therefore the notion of estate linked land ownership with established rights and privileges. The agrarian movements re-utilized the concept of estate to the enlarged group of landowners in the context of democratic mobilization. Agrarians' reinterpretation of the estate meant that land-owning farmers were entitled to institutionalized support by the state.

Contrary to the concept class, the concept of estate does not imply a group self-consciousness of a common social identity. Therefore, the political ethos of the agrarian party family is not given *a priori*, a circumstance that has led these parties to be easily absorbed into conservative or liberal movements in Western democracies; the agrarians' conception of

²⁵² Pakulski, J. (2001), "Class Paradigm and Politics", in Nichols Clarks, T. and Lipset, S. (eds.), The Breakdown of Class Politics: A Debate on Post-Industrial Stratification, Woodrow Wilson Press: Washington, p. 205.

political community derives from liberal, Christian or nationalist traditions.²⁵³ The agrarian parties define their political ethos according to the political circumstances of their foundation.

Ecologism

The ecologist parties' core identity derives from a critique of the Enlightenment's reliance on the individual as a rational being and his domination over the remainder of the ecological system. Ecologism is based on the conception of the ecological system as the primordial community. The ecological system is conceived as a holistic entity that encompasses all beings, alive or inanimate. Ecologism therefore defies liberal's assumptions that human rational capacities elevate individuals' to the primordial elements of politics and economics. Ecologists are therefore sceptical of the method and objectives of economic liberalism: economic growth through the mastery of nature and defend the concept of sustained development.²⁵⁴

The ecologists' political ethos derives not only from the view that the ecological crisis is global and results from the imbalance in man's relationship with nature but, in some cases, also draws from the cosmopolitanism of the peace movements from which some ecological parties originate. The different origins of ecological parties reflect in a tension between the interpretations of the cosmopolitan nature of their political ethos. While some parties, or factions within parties, are primarily concerned with the application of universalistic principles of justice, other parties or factions aim for a revolutionary transformation of the

²⁵³ Kane, A. and Mann, M. (1992), "A Theory of Early Twentieth-Century Agrarian Politics", Social Science History, 16(3), p.421.

²⁵⁴ Hayward, T. (1994), Ecological Thought: an Introduction, Oxford:Oxford Polity Press, p. 23.

substantive relations between humans and nature, away from the anthropocentric conceptions founding political liberalism.²⁵⁵

1989-1993: Coming in From the Cold

Coming in from the cold: The transformation of the communist party

The transformation of the United Polish Workers Party (PZPR) into a mainstream social democratic party was one of the most successful transformation of communist parties in the region.²⁵⁶ From the Round Table negotiations until 2001 the PZPR gradually changed its traditional ideological discourse. The dominant faction of the PZPR's pragmatic centre succeeded in maintaining the party unity by retaining some of the socialist elements, namely the left libertarian discourse and the commitment to the class, but re-interpreted these commitments according to the new circumstances.²⁵⁷ This strategy was one of a middle way between, on the one hand, the factions that advocated the complete dismissal of the leftist character of the party and proposed an alliance with the liberal faction within Solidarity (the globalists) and, on the other, the Marxist conservatism of the orthodox hard-liners.²⁵⁸ The

²⁵⁵ Burchell, J. (2002), The Evolution of Green Politics: Development and Change Within European Green Parties, London: Earthscan.

²⁵⁶ Grzymała-Busse, A. (2002), Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 205.

²⁵⁷ At the last Plenary of the PZPR in January 1990 Leszek Miller laid out its program in a speech entitled "What is Socialism Today? Obsolete and Valid Elements" in which he reinterpreted the ideological elements of the old belief into the new electoral context. Tezy Deklaracji Programowej, XVI Plenum Komitetu Centralnego PZPR, (Thesis of the Programmatic Declaration, XVI Plenarium of the Central Committee of the PZPR), Warsaw: November 1989.

²⁵⁸ Jadwiga Staniszkis describes the two groups competing for power within the PZPR according to their views on the interpretation of communist elements. Staniszkis, J. (1991), The Dynamics of Breakthrough, Berkeley: University of California Press

redefinition of the party's ideological discourse was determined by the moderate faction that took over the party centre.²⁵⁹

The PZPR's transformation from communism to social democracy was based on two elements: first, a centrist strategy, second, the successful reinterpretation of the core concepts of the party's identity. Both were devised by the group of young, middle-rank reformist group within the PZPR. This group was elected to the leadership of the re-founded party in January 1990 on a platform of radical and rapid change. Their election to the party leadership was facilitated by the discredit of the regional party structures during the 1989 election and by the old party leaders' abandon of party control. The new party leadership shared a reformist interpretation of class politics that made it compatible with market economy and democratic principles, therefore abandoning the commitment to a centrally-planned economy.²⁶⁰

The sequencing of events proved crucial to determine the reform outcomes. Once reformists were elected to the party leadership in January 1990, agreement with the new reform program by the rest of the party was a foregone conclusion. Not only had the delegates to the new party been compelled to agree on the new statutes before they could join it, but also, at that stage, they were unwilling to disagree with the leaders whom they had just elected. The writing of the party program was undertaken by a close number of members of the Executive Council and swiftly approved by the delegates.²⁶¹

The interpretation of left-wing ideals developed by the SdRP was equally useful for the staking of a broad electoral appeal demanded by an office-seeking strategy. The party specifically claimed to represent all Poles, and renounced to appeal primarily to the losers of transition or the traditional working class. Aleksander Kwaśniewski explained: "In order to

²⁵⁹ Harper, J. (1999), Continuity within Chaos: The Transformation of PZPR 1988-1991, Unpublished PhD thesis, LSE.

²⁶⁰ op.cit.

achieve programmatic goals, the party must rule, and it can only do so through elections – we are for parliamentary democracy. Therefore the party must be an effective tool for winning elections, with a program that reaches out to potential voters.”²⁶² As this statement makes clear, for the young elite that came to dominate the party, office- and policy-seeking strategies were closely connected and complementary. The interpretation of class as the basic economic and political unit not only served to rebuild the party and adapt it to the new democratic circumstances, but also defined it as the main centre-left formation for the next decade. The party leaders’ agreement over the interpretation of its ethos made it possible for them to stake programs geared to generate broad support and assure electoral success. The sequencing of events proved crucial.²⁶³ The success of reformist leaders to take over the party apparatus meant a successful programmatic transformation and this proved crucial to assure the party’s competitiveness and further conversion of its programmatic commitments.²⁶⁴

The resolution of the last Congress of the United Polish Workers Party and the documents of the Founding Congress of the SdRP would read: “The long-term ideological aim is that of framing a new formula of democratic socialism away from the axiological system of communism. We are for the ideals of a rational society and against nationalism, chauvinism and the neutral state.”²⁶⁵ As early as 1991 the SdRP’s secularism was one of its most noted characteristics.²⁶⁶ Although the staunch secularism and internationalism of the party was

²⁶¹ Grzymala-Busse, A. (2002), Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.161.

²⁶² Interview with Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Rzeczpospolita, 29 January 1990.

²⁶³ Pierson, P. (2000), “Increasing Returns, Path Dependence and the Study of Politics”, American Political Science Review, 94(2).

²⁶⁴ Markowski, R. (2002), “The Polish SLD”, in Bozóki, A. and Ishiyama, J. The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe, New York: Sharpe.

²⁶⁵ Resolution of the XVII (and last) Congress of the PZPR, January 1990.

²⁶⁶ Jasiewicz, K. (1993), “Polish Politics on the Eve of the 1993 Elections”, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 26(4).

noted as making the party's appeal narrower, the party leadership never changed its definition of the political community. Arguably, by anchoring the party's identity in a left libertarian discourse, the party leaders could more easily reinterpret the party's commitment to social justice.²⁶⁷

By abandoning orthodox Marxism and denouncing Stalinism, the ex-communists performed an ideological jump that attempted to reverse the ideological bifurcation resulting from the rupture of communists and social democrats' international movements in the 1920s and laid the foundations of a new party identity in the tradition of European socialism. The reference to the socialist origins and values was accompanied by the incorporation of the historical socialist party of Piłsudski, the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). The Polish ideologues returned to the core values of the European rationalist ideals of Enlightenment.²⁶⁸ "The left must also change, anchored in the values of humanism and rationalism, the equality of chances and expectations of the majority of the society. (...)". The accent put on left libertarian values helped the party to successfully reinvent itself by creating an alternative rhetoric to the conservative authoritarianism of the post-Solidarity block.²⁶⁹ The internal ideological transformation put the accent in left libertarian values and allowed the party to smoothly change its economic commitments. This outcome allowed the party to overcome socio-economic differences thus widening the party's appeal, serving equally well the new party leaders' office-seeking strategies.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ Janusz Bugaj, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 31 March 1993.

²⁶⁸ Day, S. (2000), "From Social Democracy of the Polish Republic to Polish Left Alliance", in Kubiak, H. and Wiatr, J. *Between Animosity and Utility. Political Parties and their Matrix*, Warsaw: Scholar.

²⁶⁹ Grzymala-Busse, A. (2002), *Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 205.

²⁷⁰ This would be plausible since the party was united on socio-political issues while economic stance were sources of divisions, see Markowski, R. (2002), "The Polish SLD in the 1990s", in Ishiyama, J.T. and Bozóki, A. (eds.), *The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe*, New York: Sharpe, p. 59.

In the aftermath of the Presidential election of 1990 the SdRP's centrist strategy led it to organize a broad leftist coalition of forces. By mid-1991 a coalition, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), came into being, the SdRP being its dominant actor.

The SLD's economic ethos came to reflect the evolution of West European social democracy. Arguably this conversion was facilitated by the disbelief of a great number of party leaders in the effectiveness of communist centrally-planned economy.²⁷¹ By the mid-eighties an important faction of the party's leaders had abandoned their faith in state ownership. During the negotiations that resulted in the Round Table Accord and the peaceful power transfer performed in 1989 the reformism of the communist leaders showed the potential for the transformation of the party.

Between 1991 and 1993 the party reacted to the radical marketisation measures of the right-wing governments by showing a strong commitment to the state's redistributive role. The Balcerowicz plan had severe economic consequences for the majority of the population and resulted in a sudden surge of social inequalities. During the SdRP's First Congress the party opposed shock therapy and declared its commitment to third road solutions. Although approving the overall direction of the reforms, the party objected to the government's methods and objectives, such as the absolute necessity for curbing inflation.²⁷² By 1991 the party supported the marketisation measures but advocated state intervention to protect the workers' interests. During the period between 1991 and 1993 the party hardened the tone of its criticisms regarding the economic policy followed by the post-Solidarity governments, and in particular, the effects these had in deepening income disparity. The leaders explained that "voting for the SdRP you will support people who want radical

²⁷¹ Staniszkis, J. (1991), The Dynamics of Breakthrough, California: University of Berkeley Press. p.

²⁷² SdRP, Dokumenty Programowe 1990-91, (Programmatic Documents 1990-1991), Warsaw: 1991, p.37.

reforms...but would rather implement them with minimal social costs.”²⁷³ The SLD was for higher consumer taxes and more benefits for small- and medium-sized enterprises. “Taxes should be paid by those that consume more, not those that invest more.”²⁷⁴ The advocacy of a slow decrease of profit tax illustrated the gradualist preference of the SLD. Fiscal policies were intended to ensure that state revenues “cover the budget for the most important social needs.”²⁷⁵ This tax regime was also intended to fund the creation of new jobs and the transformation of education policy. The reform of education should serve the needs of developing skills useful in the new economy.

In the early nineties, the SdRP was still strongly committed to a traditional operationalisation of social justice: “We are for a type of social policy guided by the principles of social justice in guaranteeing equality in access to education, culture, medical care, leisure and social security.” The SLD’s social policies differed from Christian-inspired social policies by declaring its belief in “an active policy of employment creation.”²⁷⁶ In terms of agricultural policy the SLD was against the total liquidation of a state-controlled agricultural economy.

For the 1993 election campaign the party was one of the fiercest critics of shock therapy, pointing to the plan’s allegedly dire results – high unemployment, widespread pauperization, decrease of real incomes (of white-collar workers), bankruptcy of the agricultural sector due to a lack of agricultural and industrial policies. The SLD’s manifesto opted for more state intervention, internal market protectionism and higher taxes for the wealthy. Both the SLD’s manifesto and campaigns favoured general privatization policies, but with explicit substantial amendments aimed at more employee-friendly solutions. Their electoral slogan: “Things do not need be like this” indicated both general support for marketisation but also the party’s strong opposition to shock therapy.

²⁷³ SdRP Dokumenty Programowe 1990-91, idem.

²⁷⁴ Idem.

²⁷⁵ Idem.

²⁷⁶ Polska Równe Szanse, (Poland of Equal Chances), Warsaw: 1995.

The Union of Labour (UP) was created in 1992, when the SLD was not yet considered a viable centre-left party. Worried at the rising of class inequalities, ex-Solidarity activists attempted to fill a perceived gap on the left-wing spectrum by creating a social democratic party that would maintain “the Solidarity tradition of workers and intellectuals’ cooperation while leading this forum to new realities and forms.”²⁷⁷

The alternative left: the UP

The Labour Union was created in 1992, joining members with social democratic orientation of Labour Solidarity and communist members, under the leadership of Ryszard Bugaj, Zbigniew Bujak and Wiesław Ziółkowska. Its central ideology was well illustrated by the theme of the V Congress of the party, “Poland of Equal Chances”. The programme opposed “the neo-liberal utopia” which disregards Polish reality, neglects social justice and the reform of the health and education systems. “Poland can only be successful when market economy, a just social system and parliamentary democracy are linked harmoniously.” The party’s ethos was based on the understanding of class as the fundamental economic community. This commitment was shown by the party’s generous welfare state policies, as well as its strong links with both the Solidarity and the ex-communist trade unions. The party pressed for a strong role for the state in creating structural industrial and employment policies financed by the state budget²⁷⁸, and straightforwardly attacked the neo-liberal assumptions that privatization is always beneficial and market rules should overrule considerations of social justice.

²⁷⁷ Przywróćmy Nadzieję. Dokumenty Programowy Unii Pracy (We Restore Hope, Programmatic Document Union of Labor), Warsaw: 1993.

²⁷⁸ Idem.

The UP's roots in the Solidarity Trade Union reflected in the party's political ethos and its commitment to the development of an international civil society. In its programmatic declaration the party declares its willingness to strike a balance between a communitarian view of society deriving from the concept of class and individual autonomy and to combine ideological consistency with pragmatism, market economy with democracy, economic dynamism with respect for the principles of justice and the environment. The party's humanist view of economic development was reflected in its priorities: the promotion of human, cultural and social capital, both with civic and economic purposes in mind.

The UP saw the development of civil society as a task for the state, through programs of citizens' education. The UP also defended the rights of minorities and was committed to the decentralization of the state and a diminished role of church in public affairs. However, UP's origins in progressive social movements led the party to claim more universalistic principles of justice, going beyond the narrower claim of international solidarity based on the concept of class.

Agrarian's transformation

The transformation of the United Peasant's Party (ZSL), a communist satellite party, into the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) took place in 1990, and meant a search for the roots of the XIX and XX century peasant ideology: biological agrarianism.²⁷⁹ Biological agrarianism is based on a metaphor of the nation as a living organism where family farms have a vital role.²⁸⁰ The particular history of the Polish agrarian movement determined that the PSL ideology was based not only on the defence of agrarian interests, but particularly of those of family farming.

²⁷⁹ Dziwianowski, M. (1996), "Polish Populism", Held, J. (ed.), Populism in Eastern Europe: Racism, Nationalism and Society, Boulder: London, pp 167.

²⁸⁰ Idem.

The party prescribes farmers as the economic community to be primarily supported in face of inequalities generated by the market. In post-communist Poland, the PSL's neo-agrarianism meant a strong interventionist role for the state to support family-based agricultural farms and resist a drive for commercially more profitable exploitations. The PSL's statist attitude is also inherited from inter-war agrarianism, where the intervention of the state to assure an equitable distribution of land was essential.

The PSL's warrants the state as the guarantor of the farmers' welfare. The party shared the SLD's aversion to shock therapy, and this stance became the programmatic ground for the party coalition. "Shock therapy has no program for the development of agriculture while gradualism has a clear one: the family-based agricultural exploitation."²⁸¹ The defence of family farms was the principle guiding the privatization of state farms. "The privatization of state agricultural farms should serve primarily the re-construction of the family economy."²⁸² The defence of small peasant properties has determined its anti-reprivatisation position, which could open claims to the peasant properties by other institutions like the Church. The strong preference for shaping farmers' opportunities takes shape in the promotion of regional development as a way of fighting regional structural unemployment.

Due to the coincidence of peasant mobilization in the late XIX and early XX century in Poland, the PSL's definition of estate was intertwined with the nation-building process. Biological agrarianism, the ideology of the peasant movement of Stanislaw Witos, justified the fight for peasant emancipation and land redistribution in the early XX century by conceiving the Polish nation as a living organism. In this organic view of the nation, and according to its rather elevated conception of the farmers' estate, family farming is considered

²⁸¹ Stanowisko Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego Wobec Polityki Gospodarczej Rządu, Punkt IV

(PSL's Position regarding the Economic Policy of the Government), Warsaw: 1991.

²⁸² Idem.

as the nation's most important moral and material resource.²⁸³ In the XIX and XX century this led the peasant movement in a campaign for land reform, both in radical and moderate forms.

The party's neo-agrarian ideology conceived the nation as the fundamental political community where peasants have an outstanding mission. This sort of nationalism resulted in the attempt to preserve rural values, in the Polish case strongly attached with Catholicism. "Natural Law and principles of Christian ethics as well as the historical experience of the Polish nation are the fundamentals of the PSL program."²⁸⁴

Strategic Attitudes 1989-1993

The only party that until 1993 was clearly rejected by all the other parties was the post-communist SdRP (later the SLD). Although coming second in the elections, the party was still marginalized from the core of acceptable coalition partners. "For all significant parties it was unacceptable at that time, and continued to remain unacceptable, to enter into any open coalition with, or even to officially cooperate with the SdRP as the heir to the defunct communist party (PZPR)."²⁸⁵ In the 1991 elections the SdRP did not seek a place in government but hoped for a strong parliamentary presence.²⁸⁶

The transformation of the SLD into a legitimate catch-all party started before 1989 and involved the consistent change of the party's image to one of moderation, professionalism and parliamentary cohesion.²⁸⁷ This strategy was explained by one of the

²⁸³ Dziwanowski, M. (1996), "Polish Populism", in Held, J. (ed.), Populism in Eastern Europe: Racism. Nationalism and Society, London: Boulder, pp 167.

²⁸⁴ Deklaracja Ideowa PSL (Ideological Declaration of the PSL), in O Kształtowanie Szans Rozwoju dla Polski, Dokumenty Programowe, (Shaping the Chances of Polish Development, Programmatic Documents), Warsaw: 1997.

²⁸⁵ Zubek, V. (1993), "The Fragmentation of the Polish Political Party System", Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 26(1): 47-71.

²⁸⁶ Millard, F. (1992), "The Polish Parliamentary Elections of October 1991", Soviet Studies, 44(5): 837-855, p .843.

²⁸⁷ Grzymala-Busse, A. (2002), Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

party reformers, Josef Oleksy. "We became a pragmatic party. A criticism of this today may be justified, but it does not mean that we could have done it otherwise in 1989. We could not, and so after the dissolution of the PZPR we consciously became a non-ideological, pragmatic, electoral party."²⁸⁸ To achieve this SdRP served as a pivot for a large number of small parties, trade unions and social organisations under the head of the SLD. The SLD's transformation into a party of power is due to the election of a small and young elite group for the party leadership in January 1990. Through the acceptance of the market and the staking of a laic and liberal social attitude, these elite controlled not only the party's strategic behaviour but also the transformation of its interpretation of class, creating in this way an alternative to the right's discourse.²⁸⁹

The only surviving political force of interest representation from communist regime was the Polish Peasant Party. Historically the representation of farmers in a predominantly rural country has been a contested role among Polish parties. In the early days, the once satellite of the PZPR, the PSL, competed for this role with the successors of Rural Solidarity, the Peasant's Agreement (PL). The United Peasant Party (ZPL) obtained four out of seven cabinet posts in the Mazowiecki transition government in 1990. Although the PSL was a satellite of the ZPL it gained acceptance and legitimacy much quicker than the SLD, partly by leaving the PZPR block and allowing Solidarity to gain a majority in the post-1989 parliament. The PSL's effectiveness in maintaining an extensive local network maintained through auxiliary organisations such as the volunteer fire-fighting brigades supported the loyalty of farmers inherited from communist times.²⁹⁰ The party also inherited from the ZPL considerable financial resources, which provided another advantage for the party. In 1991 the PSL's leader Waldemar Pawlak was the first choice of Lech Wałęsa for prime minister, but failed in forming a cabinet. During the 1991-1993 parliament the PSL was already an

²⁸⁸ Quoted in Trybuna, 13 May 1996; Andrzej Potocki, quoted in Wprost, 9 June 1996.

²⁸⁹ Grzymala-Busse, A. (2002), Redeeming the Communist Past, the Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

acceptable coalition partner and was integrated into the category of core parties much earlier than the SLD.

The European attitudes of left-wing parties between 1991-93

The SLD's European attitudes: Until the 1993 elections the SLD kept its proximity to Moscow by objecting to NATO's expansion, supporting instead Gorbachev's concept of a "Common European Home."²⁹¹ A declaration of the Supreme Council of the party read: "The change of policy of the German states illustrates that interests run higher than illusory hopes. After several months of unsuccessful attempts of rapprochement with the Federal Republic of Germany (...) it becomes clear that Europe remains divided in military blocks, and therefore that NATO expansion to the Polish border is not acceptable, as it is not acceptable to quit the security guarantees of the Warsaw Pact."²⁹² The uncertainty regarding the future of the Soviet Union has determined the conservative attitude of the party regarding the geopolitical choices that Poland faced.

The SdRP remained extremely cautious in adopting a clear stance on European integration, this attitude reflecting a conditional scepticism towards the *a priori* compatibility between European integration as a political, economic and security project and the national interest. This was expressed more clearly in the refusal to support NATO extension and the reunification of Germany.²⁹³ . It was only during the Second Congress of the SdRP's in March 1993 that Aleksander Kwaśniewski, then party leader, advanced a clearly positive attitude

²⁹⁰ Grzymala-Busse, A. (2002), op.cit., p. 125.

²⁹¹ Nasz Program Dla Polski, Project (Project, Our Program for Poland), Warsaw: 1993.

²⁹² Stanowisko Platformy Ludzi Pracy SdRP, (Position of the Platform of Workers), 19 March 1990.

²⁹³ Idem.

towards NATO expansion.²⁹⁴ The geopolitical context of the demise of the Soviet Block should be taken into consideration in explaining the SLD's Soft Euroscepticism and its opposition to Polish integration in the trans-Atlantic defence system. However, the SdRP opposition to European integration in this period also reflects the stage of the party's transformation into a social democratic party. Until attaining governmental office in 1993 the party contested the right-wing's government radical marketisation measures by maintaining that the state should remain strongly involved in regulating the market through redistributive policies. The SdRP's scepticism regarding European integration reflected an opposition to a supranational policy regime that appeared to impose a further downsizing of the state and the deepening of marketisation measures.

The PSL's European Attitude: Already in the early nineties, underneath the general consensual statements on EU accession, the PSL clearly doubted the goodness of opening agricultural markets. "Being favourable to the integration of Poland in the EEC, we underline the need to question whether this road leads us to a false objective. We should know whether integration is separate from liberal fundamentalism".²⁹⁵ The PSL also considered that "market openness is not always a good thing" and that the formula of "Europe of the Nations"²⁹⁶ suits the party best. This attitude was a reaction to the protectionist attitude of the EU during the negotiations of the Association Agreements regarding Polish agriculture and steel products.

When the effects of the 1991 Association Agreements became clear, the PSL became particularly critical of the protectionist attitude regarding Polish products and

²⁹⁴ Documents of the II Congress of the SdRP on the 20-21 March 1993 and National Convention SdRP on 23 April 1993.

²⁹⁵ Żywa, Bronia, Gospodaruja, Dokumenty Programowe (Living, Defending, Farming, Programmatic Documents), Warsaw: 1993.

²⁹⁶ O Kształtowanie Szans Rozwoju dla Polski. Dokumenty Programowe, (Shaping the Chances of Polish Development), Warsaw: 1993.

demanded its renegotiation. After the Europe Agreements the party's position on the EU was of an unconditional Euroscepticism. The discrimination felt by Polish farmers had long lasting effects and set the party's attitude towards accession negotiations. In 1997 this theme was still present in party declarations: "one can not tolerate the asymmetry advantaging the EU in opening the Polish market to agricultural products."²⁹⁷ However since the full implications of accession, both in terms of access to the European markets and the CAP direct income contributions were not known, the PSL's stance remained conditional on concessions of the EU towards Polish agriculture, and could be classified as Soft Eurosceptic.

²⁹⁷ Przesłanki i Generalne Cechy Programu Społeczno-Gospodarczego PSL (Premises and General Features of PSL Socio-Economic Program), Warsaw: 1997.

1993-1997: The governmental experience

Attaining power and further transformation

The September 1993 elections constituted a monumental change in the fortunes of left-wing parties in Poland. Although the victory of the ex-communists in the parliamentary elections was aided by the fragmentation of the right-wing parties, this success would have been impossible without the gradual and consistent transformation of the party's identity.²⁹⁸ The domination of the oligarchy established in the transition was crucial for the continuing reinterpretation of the party's ethos. "Closed oligarchic procedures, accompanied by a controlled members' mobilization, decide over the leadership recruitment outcomes. The choice of the leader is based on the consensus among the party elite, which contributes to his strong position within the party as well as outside it."²⁹⁹ The time sequence proved equally important for the outcome: the elite group that promoted the PZPR's transformation into social democracy in the late eighties kept control over the party identity evolution.³⁰⁰

During the 1993 election campaign the modernizing leadership of the SdRP dwelt in the political legacy of left-wing modernisation and carved out a left-libertarian profile, first of all by presenting an absolute commitment to secularism. The party was unequivocal in its support for the liberalisation of the restrictive abortion law, and its secular stances took nearly 11 percent of the program.³⁰¹ At the time the Catholic Church became notorious for its

²⁹⁸ Grzymała-Busse, A. (2002), op.cit.

²⁹⁹ Nalewajko, E. (1997), *Protopartie i Protosystem? Szkic do Obrazu Polskiej Wielopartyjności*, (Proto-Parties and Proto-System? A Sketch of the Polish Multi-Party System), Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.

³⁰⁰ The group of SdRP leaders was composed of Leszek Miller, Josef Oleksy, Jerzy Szmajdzinski, Izabella Sierakowska, Marek Borowski, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, and Krzysztof Janik.

³⁰¹ Grzymała-Busse, A. (2002), op.cit.

attempts to influence public policy through its instructions to voters during Church services and by pressuring post-Solidarity political parties to heed Church teachings. The party's libertarian stance was appealing to all those that opposed this influence.³⁰² The SLD's secularism and criticism of the Church became an appealing feature of the party, and a sufficiently relevant one in the context of the heated debates on socio-cultural issues taking place in Poland.

For the SLD the left libertarian stance ensued easily from the progressive tradition of communism and the profile of its leaders. Carving a new identity based on this tradition proved a successful strategy for the oligarchy controlling the SLD. Equally natural and intertwined with its left libertarian tradition was the adoption of an internationalist identity, deriving from the PZPR internationalist traditions. In practice the party's internationalism was reinforced by the search for legitimacy of the reformed ex-communists, and in this context the stress the party put on membership of the Socialist International is easily explainable. The international isolation to which the ex-communists were condemned in the early 90s was progressively brought to an end as a result of the party's electoral results and the efforts of the party leadership. Tadeusz Iwinski, the party's International Secretary recalls the long efforts made by the party to achieve international recognition.³⁰³ The search for international legitimacy still appeared to be the driving force for the urge to define its international identity: "The membership of the Socialist International is the most important and meaningful event for us. It is a word of acknowledgement for the transformation achieved in our country and the depth of change of the Polish left. Membership is also seen as a weapon against

³⁰² As a consequence of the Church and right-wing governments, the Parliament curtailed access to abortion rights and passed new laws instituting religious education in schools. This led to a drastic decline in the Church approval as a majority of the population considered these acts to be inappropriate interference in public affairs, and the Church approval rate declined from 88percent in 1989 to around 30percent within two years. CBOS, "Spoleczne Ocena Działalność Instytucji Polityczny", Komunikat z Badań, Warsaw, October 1990. By May 1993 38 percent approved and 54 percent disapproved of the Church role. CBOS, "Instytucje Publiczne w Opinii Społecznej", Komunikat z Badań, November 1994.

³⁰³ Author's interview with the International Secretary of SLD, Tadeusz Iwinski, August 2000.

discrimination: "Those who would want to call us 'communists' and 'post-communists' will expose themselves to the ridicule."³⁰⁴ Internationalism and the party's commitment to a libertarian position seem to go hand in hand: "We hope to deserve the current membership of the International Socialist, whose principles of social justice are combined with the principles of freedom, individualism and autonomy of the citizens."³⁰⁵ Through the anchoring of its identity in the tradition of European socialism, the Polish left became susceptible to influence by the transformation under way in the West European left.

The victory of the SLD in the 1993 elections meant that the UP had to make a choice between integrating the SLD and remaining oblivious to the SLD's success. Confronted with the SLD's invitation for participating in government the party rejected it, hoping for a reassertion of a separate identity and the opportunity to become a more genuine social democratic alternative to the SLD.

After taking office in 1993 the SLD changed several of its economic stances. The main question was whether the party would continue Balcerowicz economic policies or abandon them for deficit-funded demand-side policies. By choosing finance ministers eager to continue Balcerowicz's reforms and assure sound fiscal policies the party made clear that the revolutionary rhetoric of the campaign had been replaced by economic "real politics" aimed at controlling the budget deficit, combating inflation, cutting down expenditures and opening the economy to foreign investment. This implied, with time, a strong change in the party's economic ethos and the abandon of the early nineties slogan of "marketisation with state interventionism" policy. In 1997 the party's economic program had dropped all elements of economic policy which could have made their discourse seem backward in the context of the European left transformation. The emphasis on a traditional understanding of social justice

³⁰⁴ Iwiński, T. "Na XX Kongresie w Nowym Jorku, SdRP Pełnym Członkiem Międzynarodówki Socjalistycznej", (On the XX Congress in New York, SdRP a Full Member of the Socialist International), *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 10, Warsaw: 1996.

remained in the party's programme until 1997, being supported by a faction committed to traditional leftist redistributive values.

In the 1997 campaign the party's strategy was to prove that it would implement market reforms better. The SLD's program was marked by an evolution in economic values, in particular regarding the redistributive role of the state. Classical social democratic policies, like employment or social welfare, lost their centrality in the party's programs. In part, this evolution seems to reflect the party's governmental experience when it had to implement economic reforms imposed by the World Bank and the IMF.³⁰⁶

An alternative left prefigured

In contrast with the SdRP, the UP maintained its commitment to a large-sized state budget ready to provide for welfare programs and to intervene in the economy to compensate for market failure. The party also prescribed that the process of privatization should be stopped, since the structure of ownership in terms of public and private ownership of the Polish economy in 1996 was then ideal.³⁰⁷ For that reason in its V Programmatic Document, prepared for the 1997 parliamentary elections, the UP reasserts its traditional leftist identity and demanded that the state should further control privatization of state economic assets through a "map of privatization", rather than letting market forces prevail.³⁰⁸ This policy intended to protect the market from further foreign acquisitions. In line with this, tax revenues were deemed to be used strategically to protect the Polish economic potential from the competition of international business and the market instability of its eastern neighbourhood.

³⁰⁵ Program Material for Discussion prepared by the National Council of the SLD, October 1999.

³⁰⁶ Author's interview with Krzysztof Szamalek, advisor of President Kwaśniewski, October 2000.

³⁰⁷ V Dokumenty Programowe Unia Pracy, (V Programmatic Documents), Warsaw: June 1997.

Between 1993 and 1997 the PSL's nationalist faction lead by Waldemar Pawlak was reinforced by the authority conferred to the party leader by its premiership. This meant that Pawlak's conservative interpretation of the concept of estate prevailed.³⁰⁹ His predominance was contested by more liberal-minded members that considered that a non-nationalist interpretation of estate would result on de-emphasizing the focus on family farming and accept an agricultural reform based on efficiency principles. The party's conservative outlook was also motivated by the virtual exclusion of right-wing parties from the SdRP-dominated parliament, inciting the party to take up such a role. However, the PSL's adoption of a nationalist identity was not taken to its logical conclusion through the integration of a right-wing formation.

The PSL's conflicts between 1995 and 1997 were documented in the proceedings and documents of a series of party conferences. Party documents of this epoch testify to the conflicts among factions. In the PSL's V Congress in June 1997, one of the main objectives delineated by the party was "to profit from the historical shape given by the peasant movement to the system of values."³¹⁰ Another document, the party's ideological declaration, commits the party to neo-agrarianism, and states that the PSL's ideology draws upon the "centuries' long endeavour of the peasantry to live in freedom and participate equally in the life of the state."³¹¹ The party document emphasized the role of "agriculture as one of the main areas of production and the basis for national survival" with "family farms constituting the foundation for the harmonious development of villages and the countryside" and the basis of the agricultural system. Another document of the epoch made references to the willingness to appeal more broadly to "that portion of the Polish society which lives in the countryside and

³⁰⁸ idem.

³⁰⁹ Waldemar Pawlak was Prime Minister from October 1993 to February 1995.

³¹⁰ V Dokumenty Programowe Unia Pracy, (V Programmatic Documents), Warsaw: June 1997.

³¹¹ Deklaracja Ideowa Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego (Ideological Declaration of the PSL) in O Kształtowanie Szans Rownoju dla Polski, (Shaping the Chances of Polish Development), Warsaw: 1997.

the small towns, far-removed from the urban centre”³¹² but the dominant faction focused on assuring the support of the party’s traditional core constituency.³¹³

The conflict over the definition of the party’s economic unit of mobilization and identity was expressed in the leadership conflict between Roman Jagielinski, deputy Prime Minister and Agricultural Minister between 1995 and 1997, and the party hierarchy. Roman Jagielinski was seen as the supporter of “big farmers”, and generally of a broader interpretation of the concept of estate, which conflicted with the official line of the party. Jagielinski’s conceptions translated in a conception of agricultural reform that favoured the transformation of parties and made him a *persona non grata* within the party, obliging him to resign from the post.

It took a landslide defeat and a change of leadership for the party to abandon its previous conceptions of agricultural reform. Pawlak’s preponderance was gradually brought to an end by his poor electoral results in the presidential elections of 1995 (4.31 percent) and the party’s defeat in the 1997 elections (7.31 percent against 15.6 percent in the 1993 elections). Eventually the dominant faction’s authoritarianism and nationalism³¹⁴ was replaced by a modernising approach professed by the former deputy prime minister and Agriculture Minister Jarosław Kalinowski, who replaced Waldemar Pawlak as party leader in October 1997.

Elected in October 1997 the new leader recognized that the party had defined too narrowly its constituency. “We allowed ourselves, mainly through our own fault, to be characterized as a ‘class party’... because we also took upon ourselves the role of a trade union... As a party we should express our views on the most important issues, such as the

³¹² Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe Wobec Wyzwan Stojących Przed Polską, (The PSL and the Challenges Facing Poland) in O Kształtowanie Szans Rozwoju dla Polski, (Shaping the Chances of Polish Development), Warsaw: 1996, p.59.

³¹³ Szczerbiak, A. (2002), “The Polish Peasant Party: A Mass Party in PostCommunist Eastern Europe?”, East European Politics and Societies, 15(3).

³¹⁴ See, for example, Janicki, M. “Pawlak i jego Drużyna”, (Pawlak and its Friends), Polityka, 12 November 1994.

stabilization of production and the growth of incomes, and not concern ourselves solely with the price of specific agricultural products.”³¹⁵

Strategic choices 1993-1997

By 1993 the PSL, already recovered from its communist past, became the only possible coalition partner for the SLD. The PSL's quick recovery of a centrist status in the party system resulted both from the fact that the regime divide impeded any post-Solidarity parties to form a coalition with the SLD³¹⁶ and results also from the fragmentation of the party scene in the early nineties. This fragmentation “presents a standing temptation to one or other of the smaller opposition parties to move over, as indeed the agrarians did repeatedly in Scandinavia.”³¹⁷ The determination to restore an image of moderation also led the PSL to re-establish good relations with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.³¹⁸ The 1993 elections confirmed the PSL as the farmers' political representative when the party achieved 15 percent of the vote.

The 1993 parliamentary elections also marked the PSL's entrance into the political centre. Parties representing a specific constituency have a strong tradition in Poland, inherited from the communist past and its opposition, the Solidarity Trade Union. The Trade Union revived its political role as the main force behind the AWS. However, not only has this role been transitory, but it also seems to have deflected Solidarity from its role of representing

³¹⁵ Quoted in interview with Ewa Czackowska, “Są Granice Różnorodności”, (There are Limits to Diversity), Rzeczpospolita, 2002.

³¹⁶ The SdRP had tried to reach out several times to co-opt UD as its ally, but the party repeatedly refused, fearful of electoral backlash, Trybuna Ludu, 27-8 September 1993.

³¹⁷ Daalder, H. (1984), “In Search for the Center of the European Party Systems”, American Political Science Review, 78(1): 92-109.

³¹⁸ Dziewanowski, M. (1996), Polish Populism in Held, J.(ed.), Populism in Eastern Europe, New York: Boulder.

the interests of workers.³¹⁹ The only surviving political force of interest representation from communist regime was therefore the Polish Peasant Party.

The European attitudes of parties between 1993 and 1997

The SLD's European attitude: The conversion of SLD's attitudes towards European integration from Soft Euroscepticism to Hard Europhilism came during the 1993 election campaign.³²⁰ The support for NATO expansion, which the SLD had previously refused, was the visible face of this transformation. The party progressively made an unconditional support for accession to the European Union part of its prominent policy stances. Around 1994 the party started portraying integration as a one-time chance to avoid a peripheral status and access the centre of European economic power.³²¹ The emphasis put by the party on its unconditional Europhilism paralleled the transformation to social democracy of a Western kind. Indeed, although the changing geopolitical circumstances of Poland in relation to the USSR account for an explanation of the party's attitudes to European integration³²² the transformation of the party and its experience in government resulted in a long-term change of the party's appreciation of the EU's policy regimes.

Indeed, governmental experience changed the party's perception of the EU policy regimes. Although having been elected on a platform of protest to shock therapy, once in government the SLD quickly realised the constraining effect of international commitments on its economic policies. During the period in office the party progressively considered the

³¹⁹ Staniszkis, J. (2000), *The Emerging Enigma: Post-Communism Compared*, Warsaw: ISPPAN.

³²⁰ *Program SLD. Przjęty na III Kongresie SdRP* (Third Congress of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, Programmatic Documents, 6-7 December 1997, Warsaw: 1997.

³²¹ *Socjaldemokratyczna Alternatywa: Polska Demokratyczna, Sprawiedliwa, Bezpieczna* (The Social Democratic Alternative: a Democratic, Just, Safe Poland) *Biuletyn Wewnętrzny*, Warsaw: June 1993.

³²² Author's interview with Krzysztof Szamalek, Advisor of President Kwaśniewski, October 2000.

relatively protective character of the European Union's policy regimes in relation to the international standards imposed by the IMF and the World Bank. The party joined other European social democratic parties in its call for initiatives to bolster EU-level social policies. The change of stance of the party towards the European Union was consolidated and during the campaign for the 1997 parliamentary elections the party portrayed itself as the most able force to lead Poland into membership of the European Union.³²³ The European issue appeared prominently on its electoral campaign.

The UP's European attitudes: The UP's attitude towards European integration was at this time one of conditional Euroscepticism. The party's commitment to the maintenance of high levels of social protection by the state lead it to consider that it could only support European integration if the EU could guarantee the high levels of social protection in the European space. The perception that European integration would just increase the pressures for the lowering of social standards, i.e., that the EU was mainly an agent of market liberalisation and for the degrading of standards of the welfare state, determined the party's conditional Euroscepticism. The conditions for the party's support are that the European Union sets itself the task of labour markets' regulation.³²⁴

When mentioning the concerns on the social effects of European integration on the disfavoured classes, the UP links it with the argument that Poland should quickly ratify the European Charter of Social Rights.³²⁵ The UP's Soft Euroscepticism also stressed that Poland should fully adopt European Social regulation. The party's cosmopolitan political ethos determined a conditional opposition to European integration. If the European Union further

³²³ Kucharczyk, J. (1998), "Political Parties Towards Prospects for European Integration: 'Yes, and Furthermore No'", Warsaw: Instytut Spraw Publicznych.

³²⁴ Conference of PES Working Group on Enlargement of the European Union, Warsaw 3-4 November, 2000.

³²⁵ Przywróćmy Nadzieję. Dokumenty Programowy Unii Pracy (We Restore Hope, Programmatic Document Union of Labor), Warsaw: 1993.

develops its regulatory role as a guardian of high standards of social protection and fight against unemployment, the party would give it its full support.³²⁶

The PSL's European Position: From 1993 to 1997 the PSL *a priori* rejected the coincidence between the national interest and European integration. The party's Hard Euroscepticism was justified not only by fears of an asymmetric application of the CAP benefits to Poland but also by the party's nationalist political ethos. The fear that market openness would lead not only to the flooding of the Polish market by European subsidized agricultural products, but would also give access of foreign investors to agricultural and food production, was the condition for PSL's Euroscepticism. These fears were justified by the effects of the 1992 Association Agreements, which proved devastating for Polish small-holding farmers. The Association Agreements were portrayed as revealing of the protectionist attitude of the European Union, an organisation where poor and rich countries have asymmetric power in defending their interests.³²⁷ The party illustrated this stance with examples of the selective rewards of the CAP price mechanisms.³²⁸ The European issue also played with the conflicts between Jagielinski and Pawlak' factions on the desirable type of agricultural reform. The Commission's demands for an increase of the size of agricultural holdings dove-tailed with Jagielinski's positions and threatened Pawlak's stance that family-based agricultural exploitations be sustained with the help of an interventionist policy at the EU level.

³²⁶ This observation was taken while the author attended a meeting of the Working Group on European Enlargement of the Party of European Socialists, Warsaw 3 and 4 November, 2000.

³²⁷ Chronic Rownictwo w Procaessie Integracji z Unia Europejska. Dazmy do Zapewnienia Perspektywy Rozwoju Wsi i Rolnictwa, (Protecting Farmers in the Process of Integration to the European Union, We Restore Assurance of Perspective of Development of Villages and Agriculture), Warsaw: 1993.

³²⁸ V Kongres Programowe, (V Congress of the PSL), Warsaw. 1997.

1997-2005: The consolidation and fall of the left

Consolidating its profile

By 2000 it was already clear that the SLD would probably constitute the next government. At this time the SLD was established as a party of power, capable of implementing reforms and run efficiently the state machinery, and being essentially a pro-market force. However, as other left-wing parties elsewhere in Europe, the party leadership searched for a formula encompassing the transformation of its economic ethos, achieved through a new interpretation of the principle of social justice. This new interpretation implied the renouncing of budget-financed demand-side policies. This has, however, not been specifically pursued in governmental policies, with the SLD being weakly committed to deficit restraint in face of economic crisis.

In an internal party speech, the SLD's general secretary Leszek Miller enunciated the Polish Third Way, not in the fashion of Tito but of Tony Blair.³²⁹ Consistent with its previous programmatic evolution, the SLD attempted to further the image of a modern centre-left party not only through its left libertarian profile but also by building a technocratic profile that implicitly meant the acceptance of the principles of budgetary discipline and giving up demand-side instruments of intervention for correcting market inequalities. Despite the differences of interpretation it sustained with the UP, still faithful to a traditional interpretation of the policies aimed at reducing market inequalities, the SLD proposed to the UP a coalition and the two parties ran on the same list in the 2001 elections. The appearance of a workers' party was also maintained by the presence of trade unionists from the OPZZ within its ranks, but the UP's alliance strongly reinforced the coalition's role as a left-wing party. The eight-

year resistance of the UP to a coalition with the SLD was then overcome after the party's poor results in the 1997 elections and the change of leadership to Marek Pol.

Tough choices for the agrarians

Jarosław Kalinowski, party leader elected in 1997, was successful in quelling the debate within the party and re-defining the PSL's political and economic identity. Certainly the parliamentary caucus after the 2001 elections was presided over by a more hard-line representative, Janusz Dobrosz, and regional leaders, such as Zdzisław Podkański from Lublin, kept a strong position within the party. But Kalinowski's leadership imposed an overall strategy of openness to a wider electorate outside traditional farmers. In an interview to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Kalinowski asserted that more radical measures (like the ones undertaken by the PSL leaders in Lublin³³⁰) would drive away new supporters outside the traditional electorate and concluded: "If we remain in the trenches we only can lose."³³¹

Kalinowski's leadership made the party a possible coalition partner for both centre-right and centre-left governments.³³² The PSL eventually joined the SLD in a governmental coalition in 2001 and Kalinowski became Deputy Prime Minister, Agriculture Minister and negotiator of the controversial agricultural chapter with the European Commission. The negotiations leading to government formation showed once again the dividing lines within the PSL and the fact that Kalinowski's efforts to carve a more open definition of the PSL's political and economic identity met with high resistance within the party.

³²⁹ Internal Speech by Leszek Miller to the SLD, October 2000 in <http://kpsld.ceti.pl/sld>.

³³⁰ In early 2003 PSL's Lublin leaders decided to adopt radical measures of protect like road blockages to complement its already extremist language and Euroscepticism.

³³¹ Interview with Kalinowski, "Kalinowski: Jednoczmy Się Pod Ścianą", (Kalinowski: We Unite Against the Wall), *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 28 October 2003.

³³² Idem.

The party portrayed itself as the representative of the whole rural population and proposed measures of agricultural reform that took into account the interests of the whole peasant class rather than aiming solely at assuring the survival of small-holding peasants. This change meant that although the party's concept of estate still referred to family farmers as possessing a fundamental and almost sacred role in the Polish nation,³³³ the neo-agrarian roots of the party, Jarosław Kalinowski persisted in a centrist and pragmatic pursuit of a strategy to enlarge the appeal of the party beyond the peasant class.

The rise of the extreme left: Samoobrona

Despite having entered politics in 1992 as an agrarian trade union, when Samoobrona attained parliamentary representation in 2001 it still resembled a movement rather than a party. This was partly due to the fact that despite the party's origins the Samoobrona's ethos was based on a claim to represent the disfavoured classes. However, the adaptability of Samoobrona's programmatic stances is one of the most notorious characteristics of the party. This flexibility results from the party not being positioned on either side of the communist/anti-communist political divide.³³⁴ The party was therefore successful in creating a series of coalitions with the most disparate groups, like the army, ultra-nationalists and utopic socialists. The Samoobrona's secondary political ethos is nationalist, resulting from an aversion to a liberal international order.

Samoobrona's 1992 ideological declaration states that the movement "does not only represent farmers, but a wider spectrum of interests, such as those of workers, the unemployed, the pensioners and the milieu of culture and education."³³⁵ The attempt to

³³³ In the role of Agriculture Minister in 15 August 2002 Jarosław Kalinowski declared that "Farmers and the villages are the main biological and moral wealth reserved of the Nation". Quoted in RFE/RL Newsline, August 2002.

³³⁴ Interview with Modzelewski, K. "The Populist Right in the Polish Elections", *Przegląd Tygodnik*, 15 October 2001.

³³⁵ Może, a Więc Muszi Być Lepiej. Samoobrony Programy Narodowej (It Can, and it Must Get Better, National Program of the Samoobrona), Warsaw: 1992.

appeal to all those that suffer from the transition to market liberalism, reflected not only in populist rhetoric, but also derives from a loose organization that engaged in a non-conventional, protest profile. "The Samoobrona is a cry to the Polish society to mobilize and fight to protect our national identity and sovereignty, the fight for the future of the country, the fight against politicians who lie and against the demoralization and the cynicism spread by the politicians that betray the people."³³⁶ The Samoobrona also asserted that the role of the state in the domain of cultural policy should be that of promoting national culture by stressing the traditions of Polish culture. "This road leads to an 'organic system' in which the great diversity of human behaviour is integrated through a system of cooperation in the interest of all the society, the nation and the state."³³⁷ The Samoobrona's nationalism is not linked to Catholicism or to an authoritarian position in socio-cultural issues. Lepper's anti-clericalism indeed grew with time.

The Samoobrona's vague ideological principles involved a commitment to a "healthy development, the care for disfavoured people and the national interest." Lepper articulated its protest in a conspiratorial tone against the liberal national and the international elite. "The present domination in the system of global relations of an international coalition of liberal elites and political corporate finance, indifferent to ordinary people and whole nations, using methods of economic totalitarianism, financial terror, controlled information and a façade of corrupt democracy, must give way to a humanitarian order, the enlightened representation of free peoples with universal principles, humanistic values and cooperative principles on the global international system."³³⁸

On the wake of registering the Samoobrona as a political party in November 1999 Andrzej Lepper adopted a more defined radical-left identity following a series of strikes that

³³⁶ Idem.

³³⁷ Trzecia Droga, Polityka Bezpieczeństwa, Jesteśmy w Europie, Program Wyborczy Kandydata na Prezydenta RP Andrzeja Leppera. (Third Way, Security Policy, We Are in Europe, Presidential Program of Candidate Andrzej Lepper), Warsaw:2000.

³³⁸ Idem.

succeeded in paralyzing the country in January and February 1999. While in its Congress in April 1999 the Samoobrona still counted with a wing of supporters belonging to the extreme right-wing milieu, such as the notoriously anti-Semitic General Wilecki,³³⁹ in the 1 May 1999 demonstrations in Warsaw, Lepper called for the creation of a “worker-peasant alliance”, dismissed the extreme nationalist wing, and emphasized his friendly relations with Jerzy Urban, the left-wing radical editor of the anticlerical weekly *Nie*.

The protection of the disfavoured classes from the alleged attacks of liberal international conspiracies is the basic tenet of the party’s economic doctrine. The farmers’ radical protest methods are shown as an example to the rest of the society: “Poland is being killed slowly, plant by plant, sector after sector. The protests of Polish farmers have shown the whole society the way these crimes are performed and the methods to prevent them.”³⁴⁰ Liberalism is portrayed as a crime, as a mechanism of thought which distorts reality and manipulates the Polish nation. “We denounce the untruthful thesis that there is no other alternative to the present reforms, which were imposed through blackmail by the foreign centres of political power.”³⁴¹

To oppose such international liberal order Lepper advocated a strong state in the defence of the weaker social elements, guaranteeing “the right to work and fair pay, a roof over one’s head and a good health care system.” “The state should work to decrease unemployment, through a programme of massive job creation. The sponsoring of housing construction should also become one of the tasks of the state; the policy should have as its

³³⁹ “Atrakcyjny Lepper”, *Rzeczpospolita*, 6 April 1999, it is reported that the ultra nationalist General Wilecki called Andrzej Lepper “the jewel in the crown of the Polish Peasant Movement”.

³⁴⁰ Może, a Więc Muszi Być Lepiej, Samoobronę Programy Narodowej (It Can, and it Must Get Better, National Program of the Samoobrona), Warsaw: 1992.

³⁴¹ Idem.

main purpose the creation of employment and bringing down house prices to “an affordable level.”³⁴²

To this strategy Lepper called the Third Way. “We have enough of the road to the ‘Left’ and to the ‘right’. We will try to go straight to you, acting according only to the natural law.”³⁴³ Despite its claim to represent a centrist option during the 2000 presidential campaign Lepper described himself as the most left-wing candidate, aspiring to raise low social benefits and pensions.³⁴⁴ This state-centred approach became more explicit with the statement that as a result of these pro-social policies “the Polish people should remain a society that respects its state, a power that represents its people rather than foreign interests.”³⁴⁵

Strategic attitudes 1997-2005

After loosing office in the autumn of 1997 the SLD and PSL continued to pursue a centrist strategy. In the 1997 election the SLD not only maintained but also slowly increased its share of the vote from 20% to 27%. The quarrelling within the AWS-UW coalition meant that the SLD appeared by comparison a competent and rational alternative, and soon its popularity started to increase steadily. By 2000 it was clear that the party would regain power in the next elections. In 1999 the SLD changed its constitution from a coalition to a party, consolidating a unitary structure around the membership of the SdRP. Its reputation for good governance paid off when the party regained office in 2001 with 41% of the vote. The SLD started governing in 2001 with a marked advantage and high popularity, and the SLD/PSL coalition again was formed. Soon it emerged that the party had difficulty in agreeing on the

³⁴² Trzecia Droga, Polityka Bezpieczeństwa, Jesteśmy w Europie, Program Wyborczy Kandydata na Prezydenta RP Andrzeja Leppera. (Third Way, Security Policy, We Are in Europe, Presidential Program of Candidate Andrzej Lepper), Warsaw: 2000.

³⁴³ Idem.

³⁴⁴ Lugowska, U. (2001), “Parliamentary Elections in Poland 2001, What Next for Self Defence?”, Labour Focus on Eastern Europe, 69, p.7.

austerity measures needed to implement to maintain the budget deficit under control, a condition imposed by the European Stability Pact of high importance for the accession to the EU. The whole term was marked by serious corruption scandals, and these soon undermined the popularity the party enjoyed at the beginning of the term. By the end of 2003 the SLD/UP had lost its lead in public opinion polls to the Civic Platform. By the beginning of 2005 the polling institutes showed that the SLD might have a problem in clearing the 5% threshold in the forthcoming election. In March 2004 over 30 deputies from the SLD/UP coalition broke away and formed new leftist party, the SdLP and the only stable party seemed to be undergoing the same path of disintegration as that of

The PSL suffered a loss of electorate in the 1997 elections, and under a new leadership by Jaroslaw Kalinowski, it attempted to enlarge its appeal beyond the narrow spectrum of small farmers. The PSL's record of success was more mixed than that of the SLD: in 2001 the party's electorate was still largely confined to the rural vote, and its decreased popularity meant that the party would have a smaller leverage over the run of the coalition than in the 1993-1997 coalition. The party was under great pressure to comply with the SLD's policy priorities, while having to avoid being seen as selling off the interests of its constituents to its stay in power. Under these multiple pressures the PSL broke off its coalition with the SLD in March 2003.

After 2003 the SLD continued to govern but in a minority status, and the stepping down of prime minister Leszek Miller after EU accession in 2004 led to the creation of a caretaker government under Marek Belka was introduced, running the country until the autumn of 2005, when it lost office to a coalition of the PiS, gaining only 12% of the vote.

³⁴⁵ Trecja Droga, op.cit.

The European attitudes of left-wing parties between 1997 and 2005

The SLD's European positions: The results of the 2001 elections made attitudes towards European integration one of the most divisive factor in parliament and within the SLD-PSL government. The SLD government's readiness to compromise with the EU on contentious issues in Poland's EU membership negotiations, including the purchase of land by foreigners and the free movement of labour, was taken by its right-wing opponents as the proof of the government's unconditional Europhilism.³⁴⁶ This attitude was explained by Józef Oleksy, widely held as the leading conceptual thinker on European integration, as a stance that is opposed to "the conservative way of understanding history, the state and the nation". Oleksy argues that behind the right-wing discourse on European integration there is "an historical, sentimental patriotism and the common phobias and stereotypes that exist in Polish society."³⁴⁷ Oleksy criticizes the right-wing portrayal of accession as a "return to the West"³⁴⁸ and considers that this discourse derives from nationalist conceptions that hinder the acceptance of integration as an intrinsically good project pursuing the freedom and the citizens' economic well-being. On another occasion Oleksy pledges for a change in the character of Polish patriotism from a concept based on fear and protectionism to an open and cooperative concept.³⁴⁹

The SLD's Hard Europhilism derives from the coincidence of the economic objectives of the European Union and the party's re-operationalised economic ethos. The change of the SLD's position occurred after the change of EU policy regimes and was solely a result of the internal party change. Concurrent with its transformation of its policy stances and economic ideology, the party started participating in meetings of European social democratic

³⁴⁶ "Handelsblatt" on 30 August, quoted by RFE/RL 31 August 2001.

³⁴⁷ Interview with Józef Oleksy, "Unia Cierpi na Atrofię Strategii" (The Union Suffers from a Strategic Atrophy), in *Unia & Polska*, 4(32), 6 March 2000.

³⁴⁸ Idem.

³⁴⁹ "A Transcript of a Debate on the Future of Europe", Warsaw: *Centre for International Relations*, 2003.

parties, the SLD declared its support for Social Europe and gave its Europhilism a leftist tone.³⁵⁰

It is not exaggerated to say that the election to office of the SLD in 2001 was decisive for the fast conclusion of the Polish accession negotiations that had stalled on several issues under the AWS government, namely on the 18-year transition period for the selling off of land to foreigners. After the resolution of this issue, the party showed its commitment to integration in managing the negotiations on the terms of the integration of Polish agriculture in the CAP. This was a particularly sensitive issue for its coalition partner, the PSL. The SLD showed throughout the negotiations a strong commitment to integrating Poland in the EU, honouring its image as a Hard Europhile party, committed to the integration of Poland in a supranational European entity.

The PSL's European positions: Between 1997 and 2005 the PSL's positioning on the scale of attitudes towards Europe changed from a Eurosceptic position to Soft Europhilism. The PSL's *a priori* recognition that the EU interests are different from the Polish national interests has effectively evolved into a conditional Europhilism. This change is mainly noticeable in the stances and conditions issued by the party during the accession negotiations.³⁵¹ The Peasant Party's essential condition for supporting the EU was that a level playing field between Polish and EU farmers be established, and not necessarily the reception of direct subsidies from the EU. In 1997 the PSL demanded that Polish farmers be "included in the Common Agricultural Policy from the moment when Poland joins the EU (with Poland) entitled to the same payments and structural funds on the basis of principles that

³⁵⁰ During the preceding years the SLD participated regularly and consistently in the meetings of the International Socialist, 1996 New York, the Budapest European Summit of Socialist Leaders in October 1996 and the following one in London in April 1998. Author's interview with Tadeusz Iwinski, August 1999.

³⁵¹ The party concentrated on the particular provision on the prohibition of sale of land to foreigners, a highly symbolic negotiation stance.

have operated in the Union up until now".³⁵² However, when reacting to the CAP reform in the mid-term review in 2002, which intended to sever the link between farm subsidies and farm output and in time equalizing subsidies throughout the enlarged EU, the party's conditions changed. The equality of conditions for all European farmers, rather than absolute levels of support, became the most crucial condition for support.³⁵³ Although the party still considered it necessary to claim an anti-discriminatory pledge,³⁵⁴ it accepted the EU's supranational character of decision-making.

Europe was, however, a seriously dividing issue within the party, its most conservative faction following a strict interpretation of neo-agrarianism and remaining sceptic of the effects of integration on family farmers. The progressive faction of the party revised its position on the European Union and the CAP's impact in the welfare of Polish farmers. This resulted from the evolution of Polish relations with the EU. Indeed the accession negotiations, as a give and take process, resulted in the party abandoning its perception of the CAP as a system of domination of the poor by the rich and Kalinowski's leadership stroke a more rational appreciation of the CAP's effects on the Polish peasants.³⁵⁵

Indeed, despite its Eurosceptic faction, the PSL campaigned for accession in the referendum campaign. The party linked its support for EU accession to the issuing of a land turnover law that was approved just before Easter 2003 and campaigned on the slogan "Don't fear the Union. We are with you!" Kalinowski stated that the accession to the EU was an opportunity of unifying those forces that accept integration but see it as a challenge. "We can equate the Polish EU accession to the mobilization (of the peasant electorate) in the nineteen twenties, which permitted to ignore many differences dividing politicians and unify the country.

³⁵² Idem, p. 35-37.

³⁵³ RFE/RL Newslines, vol.6, 128, Part II, 11 July 2002.

³⁵⁴ *Chronić Rolnictwo w Procesie Integracji*, (Protecting the Farmers in the Process of Integration), Warsaw: 1999

³⁵⁵ Interview with Jarosław Kalinowski, "Kalinowski: Jednoczmy Sie Pod Sciana", (Kalinowski: We Unite against the Wall), *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 28 October 2003.

I repeat, the EU does not take away our independence but it is a big, epoch-making challenge.”³⁵⁶

The Samoobrona’s European position: The left-wing parties have seen the presence of a competing Eurosceptic party for the first time after the Samoobrona’s electoral feat on the 2001 elections. The Samoobrona’s position has been until the 2001 parliamentary elections one of outright Hard Euroscepticism. The Samoobrona rejected integration on the grounds that it threatens “the state and the national economic sovereignty.” Lepper’s defence of the economically disfavoured classes led him to focus primarily on the question of Polish economic sovereignty, which was threatened by the “transnational corporations that want to eliminate the Polish economy and provoke the demise of several branches of industry and agriculture.”³⁵⁷ Poland is only needed for these corporations as a “reserve of cheap labour and an outlet of their products”. This lethal process can only be stopped through the “cooperation of all true patriots”.³⁵⁸ Instead of European integration, Lepper and his party offered Poland an ambiguous concept of political and economic autarchy to which is sometimes added a pan-Slavic ideology.³⁵⁹

During the 2001 election campaign Samoobrona’s attitude towards European integration changed. Andrzej Lepper was less vocal in its opposition to integration; “We do not share the arguments of certain opponents to European integration, for whom accession to the Union and the submission of our laws to the European institutions is equivalent to a loss or a restriction of Polish independence.” Lepper’s self-declared Euro-realism meant the party’s

³⁵⁶ Interview with Jarosław Kalinowski, “Kalinowski: Jednoczmy Sie Pod Sciana”, (Kalinowski: We Unite against the Wall), Gazeta Wyborcza, 28 October 2003.

³⁵⁷ Paradowska, J. (2000), “Blok z Blokad”, (A Blok in the Blok), Polityka, 5, p.31.

³⁵⁸ Może, a Wiecej Musi Być Lepiej. Samoobrony Program Narodowej, (It Can, and it MustGet Better, the Samoobrona’s National Program), Warsaw: 1992.

³⁵⁹ Stanowisko w Sprawie Przystąpienia Polski do Unii Europejskiej, (Position on the Issue of Accession to the European Union) Warsaw: August 2001.

rational judgement of the pros and contras of integration,³⁶⁰ but his declarations were often contradictory. While in January 2002 he would declare in the Sejm: “Today we say a square ‘No’ to the European Union, because we cannot see that we will ever attain any real partnership. We see nowadays that we are at Europe’s feet, submissive to its wishes. The Union offers us worse and worse conditions and the government agrees to that – in the name of which interests, I dare to ask?”³⁶¹ However, in April 2002 Lepper would contradict these declarations and proclaim: “Contrarily to the accusations spread, the Samoobrona is not an anti-European party. If Poland is able to negotiate equal conditions of accession to the EU, (...) becoming a member of the Union in the shortest time possible is, from any point of view, a good idea”.³⁶² Despite the ambiguity of its positions, Lepper seems to have matched the abandon of nationalist rhetoric with a conditional Euroscepticism.

Analysis

In the last decade and a half of democracy the former regime parties have evolved from communist regime parties to versions of European left-wing parties. The SLD proceeded to an extensive ideological reformulation of communism to social democracy, while the transformation of the other regime party, the PSL, into a democratic agrarian party also implied a redefinition of its ideological identity, although of a more limited nature. The chapter describes the different phases of ideological evolution of these parties, their strategies of competition and European attitudes.

The SLD’s transformation was a gradual process of adaptation of ideological stances from the communist belief in planned economy to the acceptance of the limitations

³⁶⁰ Programy Samoobrony Wybory Parlymentary 2001, (The Samoobrona’s Parliamentary Election Program 2001), Warsaw: 2001.

³⁶¹ Lepper’s declarations in the Sejm, Stenographia Wydawnictwa, January 2002.

brought by globalisation to the state's redistributive role. The transformation started in the late eighties, when party leaders discussed economic fundamental beliefs in the market. Despite being favourable to the marketization of the Polish economy in the early nineties, the SdRP rejected Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz's radical liberalisation measures. Between 1993 and 1997, while in office, the party complied with the restraining effects of international commitments to low public expenditure and a balanced budget. The 1997 SdRP's election manifesto reflected the transformation brought about during the party's tenure in office. Although employment and social welfare were still central to its economic programme, the party declared its engagement in balancing redistribution and economic growth. In 2001 the party victory was widely perceived to be a reward for the party's transformation, and its sharing with the European centrist consensus on economic reform. However, soon the party showed to be severely divided on the priority to be given to the measures to keep a balanced budget, so much so that in 2004 the party was in a deep crisis, adding to the split of an important faction to create the Social Democratic Alternative.

Quickly restored to mainstream politics despite its communist past, agrarians' ideological reform was more straightforward, implying a return to the agrarian movements' early XX century roots. This meant that after 1989 the transformation of the ZPL into the PSL was based on a fusion of agrarian and national principles, and implied recovering from the early XX century a conception of agrarian families as the ultimate moral and material resource of the nation. When its electoral fortunes declined, the party leadership attempted to enlarge its electorate beyond small farmers, while keeping its ideological commitments to state support for smallholders. Its position on the party system and a consistent office-seeking attitude granted the party the status of king-maker in the Polish party system.

Andrzej Lepper's Samoobrona ideological profile is hard to pin-down, as from its inception as a rural trade union its options have been rather volatile. The party's evolution in the last years reveals a basic identification not only with farmers but also with all those heavily

³⁶² Lepper's declarations in the Sejm, Stenographia Wydawnictwa, April 2002.

disadvantaged by the transition. The Samoobrona can therefore be classified as an extreme-left party.

Parties' evolving conceptions of ways to attain their preferred economic regime impacts on their evaluation of European integration. This allows social democrats, agrarian and far-left parties', over time, to change their evaluations of Europe. The analysis of the Polish left-wing European attitudes demonstrates the idea that parties' perceptions of the compatibility between their preferred economic regime and the European regime may change over time. Theoretically one may explain that by the divisible nature of economic concepts, which, contrarily to political ones, allow for partial fulfilment. Social democrats and agrarian parties evaluate European integration on condition it partially match their preferred economic regime. If political conceptions are concomitant with economic parties' evaluations they may or not strengthen them.

Throughout the nineties social democrats across Europe came to acknowledge the EU's contribution to a regime of regulated capitalism. In Poland the SLD's conversion to Europe was concomitant with the revision of its economic beliefs. In the early nineties the party was opposed to the expansion of European and Atlantic economic, political and security institutions. In 1993 the party revised its position, and in the legislative election campaign the party supported accession to NATO and started to portray integration as a one-time chance to integrate the core European economic block and avoid a peripheral status. Although the decision to change its position on European integration was made at a time when the alternative security architecture for Europe – the dissolution of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact - and the building up of a common security architecture, formulated as “a Common European Home” by Michail Gorbachev, was becoming obsolete, the SLD's support for integration was intrinsically related to the revision of its economic beliefs. During its period in office - from 1993 to 1997 - the SLD's support for European integration settled in and gained in relevance, so much so that in the 1997 election campaign Polish European accession became a central electoral tenet. Not only was the party reformulation of its economic ideas in line with the European model of a limited welfare state, but also the party's political cosmopolitanism made the party keen on the supranational element of the EU. In contrast to the problems created by European supranationalism to the post-Solidarity parties, the political cosmopolitanism reinforced the party's Europhilia, based on the acknowledgment that the

European Single Market allowed for a higher level of social protection than Poland would enjoy in the international market.

The analysis of the PSL's European positions presented in this chapter is perhaps the clearest illustration that economic parties can change their attitudes on integration. Early in the nineties the PSL reacted to the EU's protectionism in relation to Polish agricultural products in the Europe Agreements, interpreting it a structural bias of the Common Agricultural Policy against poor countries. The party's nationalism conferred a particularly hard tone to the opposition of the party to European integration.

When taking over the party leadership in 1997 Jarosław Kalinowski substantially revised the party's appreciation of the impact of the CAP on the Polish farmers. The revision was certainly facilitated by the progress in the relationship between Poland and the EU when negotiations started and a discussion on CAP reform flared up again in Brussels. Since the early nineties the PSL's official line had been that support for European accession depended on the conditions offered to Polish farmers. However, after 1997 the party changed the minimum conditions for support for accession. In the early nineties the PSL made the defence of family farming a condition for support for European integration; in 1997, it considered that an extension of CAP in its existing form was a sufficient condition for support for European integration; on the eve of accession, and in the context of the debate taking place in the 2002 CAP mid-term review, the PSL defended a de-coupling of production and subsidies, as long as this condition ensured the equal application of conditions of farmers across the enlarged Europe. This stance meant that the PSL accepted that the CAP reforms might imply a lowering of benefits of all farmers across Europe.

The abandoning of Samoobrona's national stances in 1999 was translated later into a more conditional Euroscepticism. This appears to confirm the hypothesis that the downgrading of the party's nationalist political ethos meant a less principled opposition towards European integration. However, the fickle character of the Samoobrona's ideology makes it rather more difficult to attribute the party's European positions to a change of ideology.

If parties' European stances are strongly related to their core identities, do centripetal and centrifugal strategies impact on their European attitudes? The analysis of

Polish core left wing parties show that a party's office seeking moves can trigger an Europhile stance. The substantial change of position of the SLD in 1993 at its II Party Congress, was often portrayed as part of a "rational decision to transform the party into a party of government"³⁶³ in the wake of a reversal of the party's fortunes at the electoral boot. The timing of the change of the SLD's European stance was related to its office-seeking bid and had a strategic motivation to it. However, the SLD's Europhilism became a defining feature of the party because it had an ideological underpinning to it. President Kwaśniewski's advisor for European Affairs, asked about the party stance in 2000, when the support for accession declined steeply among the party supporters,³⁶⁴ declared the party's Hard Europhilism to be unchangeable. "The party is firmly committed to European integration and will remain so, independently of its voters' opinions. There is absolutely no debate about this stance."³⁶⁵

The evolution of the PSL's European stances shows that the centripetal strategies of parties are, however, neither sufficient nor necessary conditions for Europhilism. The PSL, despite its consistent office-seeking strategy throughout the nineties, was until 1997 rather sceptical of integration. Indeed, the adoption of an Europhile stance by the PSL was countercyclical to its participation in government as during its office-holding years between 1993-97 the party was strongly opposed to integration. It was only after it left office – and when the EU positions on CAP application to Polish farmers became clearer - that the party revised its position.

Paragraph concluding the relationship between European attitudes and ideologies and party strategies.

³⁶³ Author's interview with Krzysztof Szamalek, advisor of President Kwaśniewski. October 2000.

³⁶⁴ CBOS, Support for European Accession, 2000.

³⁶⁵ Author's interview with Paweł Świoboda, advisor to President Kwaśniewski on European Affairs, July 2000

Chapter V The Unintended Effects of Europe

The aim of this chapter is to examine how the rise of the European issue affected the core party development. The supranational question can either harm or help the unification of a fragmented party spectrum. When conflicts over the definition of the political community run high, positions on Europe deepen the divides among possible coalescent parties making it more difficult to bridge differences and find a common identity.

Analytical Framework

In new democracies, unless a revolutionary party occupies the political space, the creation of a stable and predictable party system, depends on the formation of a core, or group of, core parties. To create a core party implies the collusion of a number of political groups around an ideology, which often means political groups or parties muting ideological differences among them. This process demands that centrist political groups or parties “find compromises, reach agreements and eventually collude in order to find the party profile that best serves the overall common interests of governmental competitiveness”.³⁶⁶ Parties competing in a centrist manner should be prepared to dilute or totally mute issues that prevent cooperation with other parties, but failure to do so can lead to ideological conflicts thwarting the creation of a centre party. A virtuous spiral would see the party system unify and stabilise around a number of ideological options and party organisations by agreeing to silence political competition in a number of issues.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ Bartolini, S. (2000), “Collusion, Competition and Democracy, Part II”, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 12(1):33-65

³⁶⁷ Daalder, H. (1984), “In Search of the Center of European Party Systems”, *American Political Science Review*, 78(1): 92-109.

The circumstances, national and international, in which party systems are formed are a background condition to the ideological formation of the core. European accession is certainly one of the strongest factors influencing the formation of parties. As discussed in chapter 2, and illustrated in chapters 3 and 4, there is a close link between a party's core ideology and its positions on Europe. In the previous chapters I conclude that this link is unconditional and more permanent in the case of ideologies based on political conceptions, such as political liberals, nationalists and Christian democrats, than in the case of parties based on economic conceptions, such as social democrats or liberals. Because European attitudes do not follow parties' strategies of competition, they affect parties' chances to find a common ideological identity.

In the context of accession to the EU, Euroscepticism can disturb the ideological formation of the core by reinforcing existing ideological divides between nationalists and non-nationalists. Euroscepticism is not only a disturbing element in government, but also a hallmark of the ideological disagreements between members of the post-Solidarity elite. European supranational authority made the bridges among different ideological groups harder to build, in particular among those based on different visions of the political ethos. European integration deepens the divide between parties based on opposing political conceptions. Different economic visions translate into more prosaic issues amenable to quantification, easier to reappraise the relationship between their goals and European policy regimes.

To belong to a Christian democratic alliance at the time of accession to the EU, a nationalist party should be able to quell, or at least to mute, its opposition to Europe, it. As the latest developments show, this has not been the case. While on the right the persistence and increased importance of nationalism and Hard Europhilism jeopardised the consolidation of the right, on the left the interaction between office considerations, ideological change and Europhilism facilitated the transformation of the centre-left. Parties' European attitudes, which are ultimately linked to ideological dispositions, have deepened the divisiveness of

nationalism. The predominance of permanent elements of competition means that strong limits are imposed on the Europeanization of party systems.³⁶⁸

The first section of this chapter analyses the effects of a normative political ethos on the failure to create a centre-right party around non-nationalist principles by pointing to the simultaneity between the rise of the European issue to the forefront of the agenda in the context in which nationalism remained an increasingly important. The attempts of the Polish right-wing illustrates that the creation of a sizeable centre parties implies not only coalition choices but implies that coalescent parties find an ideological common denominator compatible with the values informing the process of integration.

The second section of this chapter analyses the interaction between left-wing parties' European stances, economic ethos and competitive strategies. European integration was a more advantageous background for the transformation of the ex-communist party, and proved a helping hand for the transformation of ex-communist parties' to social democracy. The accession to the EU facilitated a synergy between the office-seeking strategies and their ideological transformation.

Europe and the formation of the centre-right core: the dichotomy between nationalism and European integration

The search for a model of the centre-right in Poland is characterised by extreme difficulty in finding a common ideological identity within a deeply etched political landscape. In chapter 3 we described the contradiction between coalition strategies and the willingness to

³⁶⁸ Ragin, C. (1987), The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies, Berkeley: University of California Press, p.99.

build separate identities. In particular, Polish nationalists show that, despite their continuous attempts to integrate governing coalitions, nationalist parties were not able to maintain their declared support for European integration, and, in the context of accession to the EU, became particularly divisive elements in governmental coalitions. Despite strategic-driven attempts to make national conceptions of the political community compatible with European integration, nationalist parties remained Eurosceptic.

The rise of Euroscepticism reinforced the ideological divisions of the right, already noticeable in the governments between 1991 and 1993, and became one of the factors impeding the creation of a Christian democratic party. The Polish right-wing, after the split of Solidarity and the disastrous elections of 1993, unified in the AWS and won the 1997 parliamentary elections around a vague pledge for Christian democracy. Christian democracy was the most plausible basis for a centre-right party in Poland, and many politicians and intellectuals in the country saw its combination of the appeals of Catholicism and family social protection, as the best model for a centrist party.³⁶⁹

The chapter focus on the coincidence between the opening of accession negotiations and the constitution of the AWS government in the autumn of 1997. The rise of the European issue to extreme priority fuelled the nationalists' divisiveness within the AWS and in its relation to its coalition partner, the UW, and contributed to the impossibility to create a centre defined by Christian democracy. The implosion of AWS in 2001, resulted in the rise of parties based on nationalism, which is an effective explanation for the high propensity of the right for euroscepticism, of which the Law and Justice (PiS) and the League of Polish Families (LPR) are prime examples. The victory of the PiS in the autumn 2005 parliamentary and presidential elections resulted, some months later, in a coalition of these two parties in the first Eurosceptic government in the region.

The 2001 parliamentary election results, reinforced by the results of the parliamentary and presidential elections in 2005, meant the partial reversal of the party

consolidation and, ultimately, the predominance of nationalism over Catholic cosmopolitanism. The coalition of the LPR-PiS government in May 2006 ultimately denotes the resilience of the centenary political ideology devised by Roman Dmowski, which subordinates Catholic universalism to Polish nationalism. The legacies of romantic and Catholic nationalism took root in the XIX and early XX century Polish history. Dmowski and Piłsudski's ideologies were, together with Catholicism, a source of right-wing opposition to communism and Soviet occupation. With the flourishing of democracy, parties competed for the role of guardians of nationalist values. The nationalist legacy of Dmowski assigns Poland with a special role in the European order: Poland should become the missionary in charge of the Christianisation of the continent.³⁷⁰ The persistence of nationalism by important sectors of the post-Solidarity elite resulted in insurmountable ideological divergences impeding the consolidation of a Christian democratic party.

1991-1993 Governmental coalitions

A highly fragmented parliament after the 1991 elections provided a difficult context for the first right-wing coalition in Polish democracy. The split orchestrated by Wałęsa just before the 1991 elections opened a decade of unstable governmental coalitions among the post-Solidarity elite. In addition to ideological divides, the conflict between Walesa and Mazowiecki was a further criteria for the differentiation between the elites, further complicating the coalition options. The multiparty governments of the early 1990s tried to combine in different compositions five Solidarity spinoffs. After the 1991 parliamentary election, a short-lived government coalition led by Jan Krzysztof Bielecki failed to agree on economic and political issues.

³⁶⁹ Kitschelt, H. (1999), "Post-Communist Party Systems", op. cit.

³⁷⁰ Dmowski, R. (1953), Myśli Nowoczesnego Polaka (Thoughts of a Modern Pole), London: Koło Młodych Stronnictwa Narodowego.

The six-month Olszewski government epitomises the kind of conflicts that led to the extreme cabinet instability in the early nineties. The two-month negotiations between liberals and nationalists to form a grand coalition in the Sejm failed due to Olszewski's refusal to make any changes to the cabinet to accommodate liberals,³⁷¹ after having agreed with the economic policy spelled out by the liberals.³⁷² Olszewski declared this to be a preventing measure to impede his government from "decomposing".³⁷³ This meant that Olszewski was determined to keep the identity of its government by excluding the liberal UD and the KLD. The Olszewski government was to be a minority government of nationalist parties, whose core was composed by the Centre Agreement (PC) and the National Christian Union (ZChN).

The government acquired a divisive and combative style and focused on symbolic issues such as lustration, i.e., the process of excluding communist collaborators from public life. Lustration can be interpreted as part of a nationalist agenda in the context of the Polish democratic transition from communism. Much more was at stake than the question of past collaboration. Indeed, the conflict seemed to centre on the nature of the Polish state. The project of the nationalist right-wing was to create a national political community of which the ex-communists were excluded. The nation's natural historic progression should resume from where it had been forced off course in 1939. Moved by moral revulsion at the communist system and a sense of justice denied, Olszewski and his allies argued that communism was an alien period that should be excised from Polish history, its perpetrators punished and its victims rewarded. Judging from the rhetoric, lustration was a nation-building task and a patriotic duty. On the other hand, liberal politicians, prompted both by pragmatism and a civic vision that the political community should include the willing and not the deserving, argued that communism had left an indelible mark on Polish society.

³⁷¹ Sabbat-Swidlicka, A. (1992), "Poland: Weak Government, Fractious Sejm, Isolated President", RFE/RL Research Report, 1(15).

³⁷² Sabbat-Swidlicka, A. (1992), "Poland's Two Camps Specify Terms for Grand Coalition", RFE/RL Research Report, 1(18).

³⁷³ Rzeczpospolita, 12 June 1992.

The Olszewski government illustrates the opposing logics of nationalist ideology and governmental imperatives. After five trying months the government fell, following the elaboration of a list of supposed collaborators with the communist regime put up by the interior minister Antoni Macierewicz, that included several well-known Solidarity activists, with the aim of banning them from the government. A vote of confidence called by the liberal parties of the “small coalition” and the communist successor party, the Centre of Left Alliance (SLD) brought down the government on 4 July 1992. The Olszewski’s government illustrates how the identity build up of nationalists drew a wedge between themselves and more liberal-minded right wing forces. The government’s reformist mission against the political prominence of forces associated with the communist system meant that liberal politicians that had taken part in the Round Table compromises were considered evil. The vote of confidence on the government was, according to Olszewski, to determine nothing less than to “whom Poland belongs”.³⁷⁴

The Suchocka’s government

Although for many analysts it had seemed impossible to create a wider coalition than the one achieved by Olszewski, on 4 July 1992, while in the Sejm parties were still acrimoniously discussing the Macierewicz List, representatives of the warring parties met over a period of nineteen hours. A coalition whose main components were the UD and the ZChN was put together with the help of the trade unionists from Solidarity under the direction of Hanna Suchocka, a technocrat from the UD. Although the presence of the ZChN and the UD in the same coalition was a surprise for many, the fact is that the ZChN had, since the Bielecki government, attempted to downplay nationalism and play up a centrist strategy in order to integrate government. The pragmatism of its leadership made it possible for the party, although having claimed Endecja’s nationalism as its own, to ally with the most liberal

³⁷⁴ Rzeczpospolita, 5 June 1992.

parties. The PC's opting out during the coalition negotiations marked a turning point in the coalition patterns of the right. By failing to find an agreement with the liberals, the PC's leaders decisively relinquished their role as the pivotal element of the right, and attempted to build up a nationalist party.

The Suchocka's coalition formula was based on a truce between the secular liberals of the Democratic Union and the Catholic nationalists of the ZChN. The limits of this formula meant that leaning too far either left or right on social, economic or political questions would antagonize one of the major coalition partners, thereby undermining the government from within. Although the liberals were careful in avoiding antagonising the nationalists, the ZChN's hard line factions did not play along with the party's leadership and consistently torpedoed projects considered as anti-family or anti-national. This revealed the limits of the party's ideological transformation. The absence of two ZChN members on the vote of confidence that brought down the coalition on 31 May 1993 by one vote therefore came as no surprise.

Nationalists' coalition attempts

The parliament's dissolution on the 29 May 1993 was quickly followed by plans for the formation of an electoral coalition to run in the following legislative elections. On 4 June 1993 an appeal was launched by the PC to unite all the parties "for whom the overriding aim is an independent, democratic, and affluent Poland faithful to the patriotic traditions of our fathers".³⁷⁵ Although it was recognised that a electoral coalition should involve a large spectrum of ideologies, Olszewski started by imposing the exclusion of liberal parties (the UD and the KLD), as well as the ZChN, from this coalition.³⁷⁶ The new coalition was to be called

³⁷⁵ Lentowicz, Z. (1993), "W Stronę Bloku Centroprawicy", (On the Side of the Centre-Right Block), Rzeczpospolita, 4 June 1993.

³⁷⁶ Zdort, M. (1993), "RdR Stawia Warunki", (RdR Puts Conditions), Rzeczpospolita, 7 June 1993.

the Polish Union (ZP). Underlying the project was the attempt to reunify the original PC and the ZChN's radical splinters organised in the Movement for the Republic, the Polish Action and the Movement for the III Republic.

Tellingly, despite its assumed nationalist programme and identity, the Polish Union attempted to gain membership of the Christian democrat respectability. The party included historical Christian democratic party from the inter-war period, the Christian Democratic – Labour Movement (CD-SP), who retained the symbolic membership of the Christian Democratic International (CDI). The leaders expected to get the CD-SP's membership in the CDI transferred to the Polish Union. Although the president of the EUCD (European Union of Christian Democrats) Wilfred Martens, agreed to this plan, its execution was hampered by the German CDU, its leaders arguing that the membership of the EUCD should be granted only after the election results were known. According to Thomas Jackowski, the leader of the SP at the time, the incentive that international affiliation of the CDI implied was a factor that could have prevented the dissolution of the ZP.³⁷⁷

The conflicts within the ZP originated in the disagreements between the PC and its splinters over the definition of the political community. Olszewski's nationalism followed Piłsudskist' independentist tradition while the PC's brothers Kaszynski followed the Christian democratic tradition. These differing traditions were reflected in different strategies of competition.³⁷⁸ The Polish Union eventually broke under these multiple pressures.³⁷⁹ With hindsight, Olszewski's choices in 1993 had long lasting effects. Olszewski's nationalism became the basis of an exclusivist conception of his political movement and strongly restricted his coalition options. Olszewski's choice for ideological coherence in opposition to the broadening of government coalition implied that the chances of ideological moderation and the broadening of the electoral appeal dramatically decreased. The radical nature of the

³⁷⁷ Author's interview with Tomasz Jackowski, centre-right politician, June 2001.

³⁷⁸ Zdort, M. "Centroprawica Już w Koalicji", (The Centre-right already in Coalition), *Rzeczpospolita*, 21 June 1993.

nationalist tradition followed by the Olszewski government proved incompatible with the PC's centrist strategy. After suffering a series of splits, the PC leadership decided to follow Olszewski's radical path and abandon the aspiration of becoming a centrist Christian democratic party.

The ZChN factions' nationalism is another illustration that parties' strategy can be limited by its ethos. Despite the willingness of its leaders to be part of Suchocka's government, the ZChN was a disruptive force in parliament, frequently acting to defeat legislative projects that it found unpatriotic or anti-family. On the eve of the 1993 elections the right-wing parties composing the governmental coalition chose to run as independent parties. The ZChN ended up integrating a Church-brokered coalition with three minor right-wing parties allied under the heading of Ojczyzna (Fatherland). The fate of Ojczyzna was a prime example of nationalists' insistence on their separate identity: despite the threshold for election coalitions being 8 percent and the opinion polls attributing 6 percent of the vote intentions to the party, the leaders insisted on registering as an electoral coalition rather than a party, which could have passed the electoral threshold for parties, 5 percent. The nationalists' reluctance to give up their separate identities in face of electoral disaster³⁸⁰ and perceived as such by the leaders³⁸¹, shows that the predominance of ideological over strategic considerations were the prime cause of the post-Solidarity virtual ban from parliament in the 1993 elections.

³⁷⁹ Kaminski, M. Lissowski, G. and Swistak, P. (1998), "The Revival of Communism or the Effect of Institutions? The 1993 Polish Parliamentary Elections", *Public Choice*, 97(3): 429-449, p. 436.

³⁸⁰ Kaminski, M., Lissowski, G. and Swistak, P. (1998), op.cit.

³⁸¹ Jarosław Kaszynski called the separate electoral lists "electoral death lists".

1997-2001: the AWS government

The AWS, formed in 1996 as a coalition of thirty parties, aimed at challenging the SLD's supremacy in the autumn of 1997 legislative elections. Marian Krzaklewski, the leader of the Solidarity trade union played the role of unifier and opened the electoral coalition to all right-wing forces. The places in the party list were attributed according to the popularity of each party as expressed in opinion polls. Krzaklewski ascribed to the trade union a coordinating role and exerted personal influence over the AWS's formation. In the chief legislative and coordinating body of the AWS, the National Council, votes were allocated by a formula measuring the relative input of every partner to coalitional power. Krzaklewski, a computer scientist, operationalised the input of the partners with a formula based on several variables, including poll estimates.³⁸² The essence of the scheme was that the Solidarity trade union had blocking power in all national and regional executive and legislative bodies.

The Solidarity trade union was perceived as roughly equidistant to all right-wing parties and Krzaklewski was regarded as an unbiased arbiter. The AWS aimed at recreating the ideological scope of the Solidarity movement in the eighties. Therefore, alongside the conservatives of the SKL and the trade unionists, Krzaklewski integrated several formations of soft and hard catholic nationalists, such as the Alliance of Catholic Families (SRK), the Polish Family (RP), and the Homeland League (LK).

Krzaklewski's pre-electoral speech illustrates how much the formation of the AWS in 1997 was a pragmatic affair in which parties coalesced without questioning the compatibility of their identities: "This large, modern formation will embrace the national,

³⁸² Variables included membership, numbers of representatives in legislatures at all levels, territorial span, media access, know-how potential, input to local AWS organizations, votes in recent presidential and parliamentary elections, and the mean support in recent polls for parties and leaders. The formula was not released to the public.

Christian, democratic and independent traditions.”³⁸³ The attempt to create an encompassing party organisation was not accompanied by the members agreeing on a common overarching identity. The founders initially focused on attaining and controlling state power by building party structures capable of controlling the state administration, and left identity building along Christian democratic lines for after the elections. Christian democracy was seen as the ideology with the best chances of attracting overall support among all parties. Within the circles of the founders of the RS AWS, Christian democracy was seen as a neutraliser of ideological disagreements between the Catholic nationalists and the liberals.

In face of this commitment to Christian democracy as the model for a centre-right party, the inclusion of nationalists in the AWS was challenged. While some considered them necessary partners of an electorally successful centre-right formation,³⁸⁴ others argued that giving the nationalists a place in the AWS’s electoral lists meant assuring the survival of non-reformable parties that would otherwise have been eliminated from the political scene.³⁸⁵ In fact, their integration in the centre-right confirmed a distinctive feature of the Polish party system. While nationalist parties were prominent in most other countries of the region,³⁸⁶ only in Poland did nationalists have such a prominence in the centre of the party system. Even members of the AWS associated with Christian democracy, like Maciej Łętowski, were of the opinion that extreme nationalists should always be included in a right-wing coalition to avoid the creation of a sizeable nationalist right.³⁸⁷ It was also believed that the support of Radio

³⁸³ Przemówienie Marian Krzaklewski na Konwencji Przedwyborczej w Radomiu, (Foreword by Marian Krzaklewski at the Pre-Electoral Convention in Radom), October 1997.

³⁸⁴ Łętowski, M. “Trzymać Się Prawej Ściany”, (Holding the Right-Wing Wall), Rzeczpospolita, 16 June 1998.

³⁸⁵ Majcherek, J. “Kłopoty na Własne Życzenia”, (The Trouble of our Wishes), Rzeczpospolita, 13 June 1998; Majcherek, J. “A Kłopoty Pozostały” (And the Trouble Persist), Rzeczpospolita, 30 June 1998.

³⁸⁶ Vago, R. (1991), “The East European Radical Right and European Integration”, Paper to the Conference on the Radical Right in Western Europe, University of Minnesota.

³⁸⁷ Łętowski, M. “Trzymać Się Prawej Ściany”, (Holding the Right-Wing Wall), 19 June 1998.

Marjia was very advantageous in the elections, and helped the centre-right to achieve a majority in the parliament.³⁸⁸

The inclusion of the nationalists in the AWS was disastrous for the discipline of the AWS parliamentary caucus. Their penchant for extreme behaviour is well encapsulated in Jan Łopuszanski's declaration: "In the AWS we must use confrontation".³⁸⁹ The AWS unifiers, especially Krzaklewski and the trade unionists, had hoped to keep a grip on the smaller nationalist parties of the coalition and expected that the governing experience would have a moderating effect on them. The governing experience not only did not change their behaviour but increased their capacity to exert vetoing power. Ultimately Krzaklewski's position was weakened by the nationalists' ability to put the government in check.

Given the smaller parties' potential for blackmail, the AWS was gradually modified into a coalition clustered around five main constituent elements that were to jointly take decisions. While a new Solidarity-sponsored political party, the Solidarity Electoral Action-Social Movement (RS AWS) led by the Prime Minister Buzek was set up in November 1997 to take over the union's political functions as it gradually withdrew from politics. A more equal distribution of power between the bigger and more structured parties, the Conservative People's Party (SKL), the Polish Agreement of Christian Democrats (PPChD) and the ZChN was achieved. The increased power of these three parties put some checks on Krzaklewski's power as the coalition's leader.

Krzaklewski's intention had been to fulfil the decade-old project of unifying the right by transforming the AWS into a single party. The purpose of the RS-AWS was not only to separate the political from the industrial functions of the Solidarity trade union but also to create an organisational basis for the unification of the right-wing. The founders of RS AWS expected that AWS parliamentarians relinquish the membership of their parties to become

³⁸⁸ Majcherek, J. "A Kłopoty Pozostaly", (And the Troubles Persist), Rzeczpospolita, 30 June 1998.

³⁸⁹ Słowo Ludu in 12 June 1998, quoted in Politika on 27.06.1998.

members of the RS AWS. However, none of the AWS's MPs but the trade unionists left their original parties and the RS AWS never fulfilled its functions. The fact that each of the main AWS partners strongly underlined their distinctive identity and could potentially threaten the government's majority also meant that the government had to constantly square off their various partisan interests. This obviously jeopardised the party's coordination capacity and the efficiency of the government.

The rise of the European issue to prominence – with the opening of accession negotiations - coincided almost exactly with the inauguration in office of the AWS-UW coalition in the autumn of 1997. The AWS-UW government was thus confronted with the twin tasks of accession, i.e., conducting negotiations with the EU and transposing European legislation. Already daunting tasks per se, these proved extremely challenging for a government deeply divided concerning basic political conceptions. Early on, the coordination of positions within the executive and the parliamentary caucus in the Sejm, proved difficult. Despite the attempts of the party to reinterpret its ethos into compatibility with European integration, when its leader Ryszard Czarnecki took the KIE chair, his opposition to integration added to the coordination problems between ministries and the parliament in proceeding with the process of legal harmonization. When the Freedom Union's vice-chairman of KIE, Piotr Nowina-Konopka contested his leadership, an institutional paralysis ensued. To assert the KIE's authority the prime minister had to effectively chair the Committee. The controversy over Czarnecki's leadership had far reaching consequences for the progress of preparations for accession. After Czarnecki's resignation in June 1998 the KIE's position was weakened by a long period of institutional instability as a coalition deadlock prevented the prime minister from appointing a permanent KIE secretary. The Freedom Union's insistence on its right to propose a candidate for the KIE secretary, and the ZChN's

opposition to the notion illustrates the ideological fight for the control of the process of European integration.³⁹⁰

The staking of negotiation stances within the coalition was an equally fractious field, in particular when an informal link was established between the positions on transition periods for the sale of land to foreigners and the free circulation of workers. The coalition, under the pressure from the ZChN, proposed an 18-year transition period for the sale of land to foreigners for both agricultural land and housing plots.³⁹¹ Obviously economic liberals found it difficult to accept a temporary ban on Poles' seeking employment in EU countries in exchange of a stance inspired primarily by a nationalist agenda. In parliament the transposition of the *acquis communautaire* was also encumbered by nationalist members of the coalition who opposed the process and impeded the transposition of directives into Polish law.

The Commission annual reports on accession preparations started to note the fact that Poland was falling behind the other candidate countries. To deal with laggards in accession preparations, a decision was taken in the Helsinki European Council. Unlike countries started moving at different speeds within the negotiation process. The opening of negotiation chapters followed the progress in implementation of the *acquis*, as judged by the Commission. The result was a visible retraction in Poland's image as a trend-setter in Europe. When the Commission report was issued in the autumn of 2000, pointing to serious delays in transposing elements of the *acquis*, the Polish political elite counter-attacked, demanding that the Commission and the member states put a firm accession date. The failure of the AWS-UW government to perform in the negotiations started to be held against the government.

³⁹⁰ Author's interview with Piotr Nowina-Konopka, July 2000.

³⁹¹ RFE/RL Newline Vol. 3, No. 135, Part II, 14 July 1999

Centrist Euroscepticism.

Although Krzaklewski and the trade union had initially been regarded as unbiased arbiters of the AWS, his ambition to be the AWS presidential candidate in 2000 proved extremely controversial. His candidature was opposed by the liberal and conservative wings of the party. Krzaklewski's campaign strategy was one of polarisation on nationalist grounds³⁹² which made agreement between the AWS's parties rather difficult. Jan Maria Rokita led a coalition of moderate conservatives and asked for an internal party referendum to choose the presidential candidate. However, the leadership and the rank-and-file of the trade union refused to question Krzaklewski's right to present itself as the AWS's presidential candidate. By choosing a nationalist tactic Krzaklewski provoked an irate response from the AWS's moderate conservative parties. By taking the side of the nationalists and accepting the support of Radio Marja, the trade union leader relinquished the role of moderator that he had devised for himself. Krzaklewski nationalist electoral strategy jeopardised the possibilities of a commonly negotiated Christian democratic identity.

Without ideological or organisational settlement within the AWS, Krzaklewski's landslide defeat provoked a crisis that would tear apart the AWS in the run up to the 2001 parliamentary elections. Despite the internal opposition, Krzaklewski refused to step down from the AWS leadership. The AWS statutes foresaw that a change of leadership required 75 percent of the votes in the Political Council. The two constituent parties controlled by Krzaklewski, the Solidarity trade union and the RS AWS counted 48 percent of the votes. Therefore the change of leadership envisaged by the other parties of the coalition was not attainable through statutory means. Krzaklewski initial reaction was to try to get rid of the SKL and other rebellious elements. "We always had problems with those AWS politicians that moved back and forth between the AWS and the UW. This problem has to be solved once

³⁹² Łętowski, M. "Trzymać się prawej ściany", 19 June 1998 and Zdort, M. D. "Kandydat Katolicki I Radykalny", (Catholic and Radical Candidates), Rzeczpospolita, 22 June 1998.

and for all.”³⁹³ However, the rebellious parties did not show willingness to leave peacefully, and considered that the AWS was “as much theirs as it was Solidarity’s”. After two months of negotiations mediated by Prime Minister Buzek, the historical leader of the ZChN, Wiesław Chrzanowski, and the Church, the rebelling parties founded a federation excluding the trade union and the nationalists and threatened to leave the AWS as a tactical move to provoke change.

Although the resistance of the constituent AWS party leaders was partially motivated by Krzaklewski’s tactics to centralise power,³⁹⁴ the opposing parties justified their resistance to Krzaklewski’s tactics with ideological arguments. Jan Maria Rokita, Krzaklewski’s main opponent within the AWS, stated that the strategy embraced by the trade union leader “threatens the AWS with a Lepenisation process, a radicalisation that does not allow the AWS to govern.”³⁹⁵ Rokita also alluded to the fact that Krzaklewski had jeopardised his own role of mediator and the possibility of unification of the right around a Christian democratic option by adopting a radical right nationalist discourse in the run up to the Presidential elections.

After Krzaklewski eventually stepped down from the leadership, the choice of a new leader came to the fore, bringing into sharp relief the ideological conflicts that had hampered the unification of the AWS. Nationalists and liberal candidates were rejected as they were not acceptable to one or the other of the parties’ in the coalition. “For the trade unionists Krzaklewski is their man (...). Liberals, which want to change their leaders, are a fifth column”.³⁹⁶ The increased influence of the conservatives in the AWS after the defeat of Krzaklewski and the creation of a federation of parties, the Federation AWS, made the conservative option embodied in Maciej Płażynski desirable. Part of the conservative wing of

³⁹³ Gazeta Polska, 11 October 2000.

³⁹⁴ Waszkielewicz, B. and Zdort, M. “Toszącość Partii Władzy”, (Identities of the Parties of Power), *Rzeczpospolita* 24 October 2000.

³⁹⁵ Jan Maria Rokita’s speech to SKL’s Political Council, quoted in *Rzeczpospolita*, 16 October 2000.

³⁹⁶ Quoted in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, October 2000.

the SKL, Płażynski was a member of the Social Movement and was widely accepted as a future leader of the centre-right party.

However, Płażynski's plans were different. Andrzej Olechowski's performance in the presidential elections had triggered in the conservatives the hope of creating a successful liberal conservative party able to dominate the centre-right. Krzaklewski acknowledged this fact when he stepped down as the AWS political leader in early December 2000. "Politicians of the centre-right tend to marginalise the role and the meaning of Solidarity. The predominance of the conservative liberal programme is in conflict with a Christian social vision of the centre-right. The trade unionists must react to the attempt to de-solidarise the centre-right".³⁹⁷ During the following months the AWS would slowly disintegrate into several small parties. The project of a Christian democratic party based on the trade union was over.

The EU accession proved a particularly difficult context for the Polish right unification. The parties of the post-Solidarity camp differed in their attitudes towards the EU; in government these differences proved extremely divisive, and European integration became the touchstone of disagreement between the parties. Nationalists' Euroscepticism translated into the attempt to hinder the accession process while in office and this, in turn, heightened the conflicts with the other coalition members. Despite their office-driven attempts to reinterpret their ideology into compatibility with European integration, the parties defending the Polish nation remained essentially opposed to accession. The context of European integration made the disagreements between the right-wing coalition partners more concrete, and deepened the divisiveness of nationalists.

No party illustrates the tensions between their strategic ambitions to gain office and their nationalist Euroscepticism as well as the ZChN. The primacy of the ZChN's nationalist ethos over its centripetal strategies was particularly clear when Rychard Czarnecki

³⁹⁷ Declaration to the XIII Meeting of the Solidarity trade union in Spale, quoted in *Rzeczpospolita*, 12 December 2000.

was appointed chair of the Committee of European Integration (KIE) in late 1997. When it joined the AWS in 1996 the ZChN's centrist strategy resulted in the choice of the moderate Marian Piłka as a leader. However, when in February 1998 Piłka tried to take the party transformation one step further by drawing closer to the UW by strengthening the economic ethos,³⁹⁸ the leader faced strong internal opposition and was eventually closely challenged by a hard liner, Henryk Goryszewski, in the party's elections.

2001: The search for ideological coherence

When the AWS's survival chances seemed minimal, the incentives for conservatives from the SKL to remain in the coalition decreased considerably. The temporary settlement of the AWS crisis was jeopardised in early 2001 when the chosen leader of the new AWS, Maciej Płażynski, abandoned the party to form a new conservative liberal party project, the Platform of Citizens (PO), with Andrzej Olechowski. The exit options also determined splits from the UW and, after some months of hesitation, the splitting of the SKL and its integration into the PO.

The demise of the AWS Christian democratic project was a critical moment in the right-wing's evolution.³⁹⁹ Once a cooperative endeavour fails to endure, the chances are that fragmented and small parties will return to their initial identity. Small parties, with lower competitive capacities, tend to have higher ideological consistency (even if a less appealing one). Parties in a weak competitive position are dependent on loyal members and activists. When parties become weaker competitors, militants are more likely to advance⁴⁰⁰ and leaders

³⁹⁸ Zdort, M. "Partyjni Weekend", (Weekend Parties), Rzeczpospolita, 2 March 1998.

³⁹⁹ Pierson, P. (2000), "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence and the Study of Politics", American Political Science Review, 94(2): 254-268.

⁴⁰⁰ Kitschelt, H. (1989), "The Internal Politics of Parties: the Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited", Political Studies, 37(3), p.407.

attempt to maximise existing supporter loyalty by retaining symbols and appeals with their organisational forms or the symbolic past treasured by its membership.

The project of unifying the centre-right was not dead. In their early days both right-wing parties, the Law and Justice (PiS) and the Citizens' Platform (PO), maintained explicitly fuzzy identities as a way to preserve the option to coalesce in the future. The parties adopted two versions of conservatism, the PO profiling itself as a liberal conservative party and the PiS as a follower of national conservatism. The PO's identity was overwhelmingly dictated by economic neo-liberalism. This division of "competences" between the parties disappointed one of its founders, Maciej Płażynski, who desired a stronger social conservatism identity for the party. This led to an early debate on the party identity. "There was no desire in the Civic Platform to widen its electorate, while there was a desire of a large part of the electorate for stabilization in the centre. That is a difference of ideas." Płażynski said, adding that Poland needs a "popular, broad-based, right-wing party that is not associated with just one circle."⁴⁰¹ To this claim the liberals answered that Płażynski's proposals that included an approximation with the PiS national conservatives would disorientate its electorate, especially in matters related to the European Union. "For a long time we did not know what is the position of the PiS in this matter. We have the impression that Płażynski is nostalgic of the political majority of the AWS, but for the politicians originating in the UW, the AWS is a warning and not an inspiration."⁴⁰² As Krzysztof Piesewicz emphasised: "We want to build a formation of people that think in the same way about the values, the objectives and the ways of acting of the party. We are not interested in a party that has as an objective supporting someone to the presidency, or a party to oppose that. That would finish, as always, in a permanent parliamentary crisis."⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ Kublik, A. "Maciej Płażynski Odchodzi z Platformy", (Maciej Płażynski Leaves the Platform), Gazeta Wyborcza, April 2003.

⁴⁰² Interview with Janusz Lewandowski, Gazeta Wyborcza, 9 April 2003.

Polarisation and nationalism

Chance had it that a government strongly divided on issues of political sovereignty, the AWS-UW, was tasked to conduct the Polish accession negotiations in late 1997. Marked programmatic differences and ongoing internal disputes within the AWS were exposed and deepened by the European issue, which, by reinforcing the ideological divides between nationalists, liberals and Christian democrats turned Christian democracy into an inviable model for the centre in Poland. The prevalence of ideological disputes over a strategy to control office, or the centre space, made Europe into an accidental touchstone of dissent of the right wing disagreements. Rather than muting their identities when integrating governmental coalitions, nationalists clinged to the concept of political sovereignty and opposed EU accession on that basis, even if this disrupted the accession process and the chances of the governmental coalition.

The desintegration of the AWS in 1997 marked the end of the partial consolidation of the right started after the disastrous defeat in the parliamentary elections of 1993. In 2001 an increased weight for Eurosceptic parties was noticeable. The electoral success of two Hard Eurosceptic parties resulted in the establishment of a strong Eurosceptic lobby in parliament flanking, the LPR and the Self Defence (SO).

Synergies between identities and strategic behaviour

The PSL and the SLD transformations

The transformation of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) and the United Polish Peasants (ZPL) into the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic (SdRP) and the

⁴⁰³ Krzysztof Piesewicz, quoted in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 10 April 2003.

Polish Peasant Party (PSL) implied a conversion of their ethos and doctrine, by abandoning communism and embracing social democracy and agrarianism. Without betraying their left-wing orientation, the parties' leaders based their new identities on the definition of the economic concepts of class and estate. Their political ethos had diverse origins: while the PZPR was one of the most entrenched parties in class internationalism of the Central and Eastern European communist parties,⁴⁰⁴ the PSL is the inheritor of nationalist conceptions inherent to biological agrarianism, the ideology of the inter-war peasant movements.

Being based on divisible and quantifiable economic concepts, the PSL and SLD's European positions had a conditional nature, and the transformation of the parties resulted in a different appreciation of the CAP and the Single Market regime. The governmental drive of the two parties, its ethos transformation and their strategies European positions became mutually reinforcing elements.

The SLD's class-based cosmopolitanism

The SLD transformation is an example of the synergies created by the consistent pursuit of a social democratic ethos, governmental office and Europhilism. The SLD's ideological transformation from communism to social democracy was, arguably, one of the drivers of transition itself. By accepting market economy, an internationalist conception of the political community and stressing their liberal social policies the new party leadership elected in January 1990 steered the party into the core of the party system. The ideological choices of the SdRP made possible both the incorporation of several minor parties into a single structure and the broadening of the party's public appeal. The drive to attain governmental office also consisted of the search for international recognition, and the party multiplied its efforts to gain membership of the Socialist International and integrate the Party of European Socialists.

⁴⁰⁴ Kitschelt, H. (2002), "The Strategic Conduct of Post-Communist Successor Parties", in Bozóki, A. and Ishiyama, J. (eds.), The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe, New York: Sharpe.

As I have argued in chapter IV, the reformist leadership's victory in controlling the party determined its rapid transformation. The office-seeking drive of the party went hand-in-hand with the transformation of the party's ethos which consisted not only in stressing a liberal social and political stance but also the abandonment of Keynesian demand-side policies. By the mid-nineties the SdRP's leadership had understood through direct governmental participation the strong constraints on the development of a strong welfare state imposed by international commitments and considered the EU's policy regime as a relatively more protective environment of class interests. This transformation was in pace both with European social democratic transformations and with the economic policies pursued by the European Union.

The legacy of communist internationalist ideals in Poland is now embodied in SLD's Hard Europhilism. The support for European integration results essentially from the party viewing the EU as a facilitator of social democratic economic ideals. Moreover, whenever class-based cosmopolitanism is combined with the perception of a synergetic relationship between the party's economic goals and those of the EU,⁴⁰⁵ the sufficient conditions for unconditional Europhilism are met. Also, although in the 1980s communist leaders attempted to revamp failing support for the regime by using nationalist rhetoric and symbolism, the Soviet imposition of communism on Poland made Polish national communism a contradiction in terms. The SLD's Hard Europhilism therefore also derives from the communist legacy of internationalism.

⁴⁰⁵ Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30(3): 443-460, p.435.

The PSL's re-working of the concept of estate

The PSL transformation and survival was anchored in the division between rural and urban ethos.⁴⁰⁶ Although farmers do not constitute a class and therefore their political ethos are not *a priori* given,⁴⁰⁷ due to the historical circumstances of the birth of the agrarian movement in XIX-century partitioned Poland, the PSL's political ethos is founded on the concept of nation.⁴⁰⁸ Agrarian parties are primarily based on the idea that land ownership should be rewarded by support and privileges from the central state. However, the freeze imposed by communism on the development of the farmers' movements in Poland meant that the PSL's ideological resources deriving from interwar ideologies combined the two conceptions in the concept of family farming. The PSL's interpretation of the concept of estate was therefore influenced by the nationalist concept of the role of farmers one which is characterised by biological agrarianism.

The success of the PSL's transformation from communist satellite party and its resistance to the catholic parties' attempts to incorporate it certainly owes much to the conception of the particular role of farmers in the survival of the nation.⁴⁰⁹ However, the main identifying element of the PSL is an economic concept and the identification of the peasantry with the nation practically elevates peasants' interests to national interest. The party's evaluation of the compatibility between European integration and the national interest impinge on the evaluation of CAP's impact on farmers' welfare.

⁴⁰⁶ Small, family-sized farmers are proportionally very numerous in Poland. Incidentally this is considered by Stein Rokkan one of the most determinant conditions for the creation of a farmers' party. Rokkan, S. (1967), "The Structuring of Mass Politics in the Smaller European Democracies: a Developmental Typology", Comparative Studies in Society and History, 10, p. 173-203.

⁴⁰⁷ Kane, A. Mann, M. (1992), "A Theory of Early Twentieth-Century Agrarian Politics", Social Science History, 16(3), p.421.

⁴⁰⁸ Dahl, R. (ed.), (1966), Political Oppositions in Western Democracies, Yale: Yale University Press, p. 336.

⁴⁰⁹ Traditionally in Catholic countries peasant movements have joined Catholic-inspired parties. The PSL resisted pressure from Wałęsa to join a wide coalition of Christian inspired parties. Author's interview with Tomasz Jackowski, centre-right politician, June 2001.

The PSL's changing European position can be understood in the context of a dynamic relationship between the EU and Poland. The uncertainty of the conditions of application of the CAP on the new member states meant that as negotiations on the EU evolved between September 1997 and 2001 a new assessment of the impact of accession on Polish agriculture was demanded. Since the economic interests of the party's constituency are directly relevant for the party's position on the EU, the party became a specialist in the CAP benefits and price mechanisms and, in particular, in their application to the Polish market. The political ethos of the party determined that Euroscepticism was unconditional and Europhilism conditional.

The analysis of PSL's move between Euroscepticism to Europhilism indicates that office-seeking considerations also played a part in the revaluation of parties' European positions. A landslide electoral defeat in the 1997 elections prompted the election of a leader more open to a revaluation of the impact of European integration for the peasant class as a whole. However, although the shift to conditional Europhilism certainly incorporated office-seeking considerations, this centrist stance is in the long-run dependent on the fulfilment of the farmers' interests by the European Common Agricultural Policy. The PSL also illustrates that when the parties' chances of government participation appear small, more extremist middle-level cadres can push for a different interpretation of the party's economic ethos and constituencies' interests and lead to a Eurosceptic stance. A Eurosceptic position, in turn, marks the exclusion of governmental coalitions and reinforces a polarising stance.

Analysis

The analysis of the interaction between party ideology, strategy and European attitudes carried out in this chapter confirms that an office-seeking bid at election time can determine a party's European stance. However, in the long-run, a party's core ideology determines a party's European stance, even if an Eurosceptic attitude harms the chances to consolidate a centre party. It emerges that only the re-assessment of the relationship between parties' definitions of the political and the economic community allows a lasting change of parties' European positions. This is consistent with the assumption that a party's core conception determines its ideological positions down the line, and that a party may suspend its ethos only temporarily. The ZChN evolution throughout the 1990s illustrates this proposition. Despite its centrist strategy and the addition of a neo-liberal economic ethos the party's national Catholicism remained the primary source of its ideological and policy positions. To integrate the liberal governments of Bielecki, Suchocka and the AWS the ZChN tried to silence, dilute or reinterpret its nationalist ethos. However, when in government, the parties' ideological and policy stances often disrupted the workings of the cabinets and the consistency of the parliamentary caucus. By not choosing between nationalism and a centrist position, the ZChN contributed neither to the formation of a centrist party nor a nationalist polarising pole, which was eventually filled by the League of Polish Families after the 2001 elections.

This suggests that a party's opposition to European integration intensifies the divisiveness nationalists. The rise of the European issue to prominence in the mid-1990s, together with the resilience of nationalism and Eurosceptic positions, has contributed to the failure to structure the right-wing core in Poland. The AWS-UW government offers a particularly vivid example of the way the European issue deepened the conflicts over policy and ideological issues. When searching for support for its contested presidential bid in the nationalist wing of the AWS, the trade union leader Marian Krzaklewski took up a sceptic attitude towards European accession as its main discourse theme. The centrifugal tactics and nationalist rhetoric of the AWS's leader at the end of its period in office reasserted the

divisions between lines of support and opposition to Europe within the governing coalition. The disintegration of the AWS along these lines of conflict resulted in an unusual number of Eurosceptic parties gaining parliamentary representation, demonstrating the resilience of the nationalist ethos and the failure to create a Christian democratic party. Embodied in different organisations, nationalism proved in the long-term both necessary and sufficient for an unconditional incompatibility between parties ethos and European attitudes. The presence of nationalists in the mainstream political scene in Poland made the ideological distance between the post-Solidarity parties impossible to surmount. The European question became the hallmark of the ideological disagreements of the Polish right.

The analysis of the formation of left core shows that European accession was a more benefic for the formation of a left core in Poland. The interaction between ethos, strategies and European attitudes facilitated the transformation of the Polish left from communism to social democracy. This virtuous spiral resulted primarily from the compatibility between the social democracy and the European policy regime in the mid 1990s. Being based on quantifiable economic concepts the SLD and the PSL could more easily re-evaluate the effects of the European policy regimes.

Conversely, the failure to create centre parties founded on concepts compatible with European integration is part of the explanation for, despite being the first country to initiate the transition process, Poland has been the CEE state where the emergence of a centre-right party has most blatantly failed. Despite the expectations that a Christian democratic party would emerge from the post-Solidarity camp and fill the centre-right space, the predominance of nationalism over a universal set of principles, prevented the development of both Christian democracy and a unified centre-right party. The nationalist ideology proved enduring and divisive and impeded the synergy between a party founded on Christian cosmopolitanism, Europhilism and a centrist strategy.

The predominance and stability of core ideologies resulted in an unintended effect of European accession on the Polish on core consolidation. A stable core party system can be defined not only by the parties' coalition options and their propaganda tactics, but also through an ideological dimension. The consolidation of the core party system is thus as much a practical problem of coalition strategy as is a question of the elite finding agreement on the values of a common "community of discourse".

Chapter VI Europe as a factor in Central and Eastern European party systems

The theory proposed in this thesis understands parties as embodiments of political ideas. Thus the concepts imprinted in the party ethos are vital elements of their existence and guide their response to contemporary issues. The way parties respond to the integration of the continent is, in the long run, determined by the way parties defined the political and economic communities. Party ethos, and their degree of conceptual flexibility, limits the impact of centripetal and centrifugal strategies of competition on their responses to European positions.

The political and economic ethos are the distinguishing elements of this theory in relation to Marks, Hooghe and Wilson's left/right proposition and represent the grounds for criticizing the dynamic theory of Sitter. In their 2000 article Marks and Wilson represent political cleavages almost exclusively in terms of reflecting social groups' diverse economic preferences.⁴¹⁰ In a later article (2002) the same authors (with Hooghe) note the omission of the political cleavage and admit to its ascendancy over the left/right economic axis in determining party European positions.⁴¹¹ However, in the introduction to the special issue of *Comparative Political Studies* dedicated to political contestation in the EU, the authors hedge their position by stating that the political dimension is highly correlated to the left-right economic dimension, so much so that the two can be considered part of the same axis.⁴¹²

⁴¹⁰ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), op. cit.

⁴¹¹ Marks, G. Hooghe, L. and Wilson, C. (2002), "Does Left-Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8): 965-989.

⁴¹² Marks, G. and Steenbergen, M. (2002), "Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8): 879-892.

By assuming that the left-right axis explains party positions on European integration Marks, Hooghe and Wilson⁴¹³ follow a long tradition of party analysis that understands ideology primarily as the representation of social group economic interests. The primordial character of economic interests results in a single (mainly) economic axis. The conceptualisation of the left-right axis as the synthesis of left-wing social libertarianism and right-wing social authoritarianism was first proposed by Inglehart. Although the conceptualisation of the rise of a cultural conflict of competition has been Inglehart's main contribution to the literature, he asserts that the opposition between materialist/post-materialist values has eventually fused with the left-right economic axis and created a one-dimensional space of competition.

In this thesis a typology of political and economic ethos takes the place of the left-right axis to explain party's European positions. This typology differs from the latter in two ways. First, the bi-dimensional character of this typology signifies that the political dimension is independent of the left-right dimension (or the economic ethos) and that the political ethos can prevail over the economic ethos (and vice versa). Second, this typology defines the vertical axis not as a reflection of socio-cultural attitudes but reflecting party's prescriptions of the relation between the individual and the political community.

The ethos theory departs from the left-right conceptualisation of political competition and thus contributes to the general study of political parties. By specifying the interpretative concepts binding parties' rationality⁴¹⁴ this typology represents a more fundamental way to conceive the ideological space. The party ethos determines not only

⁴¹³ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", *British Journal of Political Science*, 30(3): 443-460; Marks, G. Hooghe, L. Wilson, C. (2002) "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8): 965-989.

⁴¹⁴ Boudon, R. (1982), *The Unintended Consequences of Social Action*, London: Macmillan, p.105.

parties' positions on European integration but could also explain the stability of parties' policy positions.⁴¹⁵

The Polish party system demonstrates in a vivid way that although a one-dimensional left-right conceptualisation of party systems is widely accepted,⁴¹⁶ a two-dimensional classification of party identities appears to provide a better classification of parties' European positions. In spite of the necessity and sufficiency of the central element of a party's identity for the party's fundamental choice between Euroscepticism and Europhilism, the other dimension of identity still bears an independent effect on a party's positioning in the Eurosceptic-Europhile scale. The framework proposes that while party attitudes to the European issue based on an indivisible political concept are unchangeable, attitudes based on economic concepts can more easily be reassessed.

The testing of the ethos theory on the Polish case has shown it broadly successful in explaining both left- and right-wing parties' European attitudes. The Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA)⁴¹⁷ and the language of sufficiency and necessity proved a productive method to test the theoretical framework, helping to identify the cases where theoretically interesting combinations of strategic and ideological conditions were found. This resulted in a better understanding of the dynamic interaction between conceptions of political and economic ethos, strategies of centripetal or centrifugal mode of competition, and parties' attitudes towards European integration.

A further inference to the systemic level can be derived from the ethos theory. It appears that in a party system where the political axis is predominant European integration will be more intensely contested. The antidote to the disruption caused by the European issue

⁴¹⁵ Budge, I. et. al. (2001) Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors and Governments, 1945-1998, Oxford: Oxford University Press

⁴¹⁶ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), op.cit. and Marks, G. and Hooghe, L. and Wilson, C. (2002), op.cit. Hix, S. and Lord, C. (1997), Political Parties in the European Union, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

⁴¹⁷ Ragin, C. (1987), The Comparative Method, Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies, Berkeley: University of California Press.

on these party systems is a Hard Europhile Christian democratic party. In its absence, political nationalism is likely to be mobilised and becoming a disruptive element of the political spectrum. In party systems based on the economic axis the European issue will be more easily accommodated; parties based the economic ethos have conditional and changeable European positions and a reassessment of the changing European policy regimes is therefore possible.⁴¹⁸

In Poland divergent ideological and office-seeking strategies have led to a highly unstable right-wing. The failure of Christian democracy to thrive in Poland resulted in the success of a high number of Eurosceptic parties. The instability of the Polish centre-right is related to the ideological importance of nationalism for the post-Solidarity camp and the impossibility of its reconciliation with a Europhile position. Although office-seeking strategies can serve as incentives to moderation, they are not sufficient either to determine parties' attitudes towards European integration unless the transformation of their ideological precepts has been achieved. The resolution of this contradiction is necessary for the achievement of a stable centre-right identity.

A dynamic theory

In Chapter V I criticised the government-opposition theory for failing to explain parties' long-term positions on European integration. In Chapter VI I conceded that, in the short-term, modified competitive strategies can explain the short-term adoption of pro- or anti-European positions. Parties signalling their will to enter government will adopt Europhilism and parties' opposition the government chose to oppose European integration. The change of European position resulting from strategic considerations implies the suspension of the party ethos. This suspension is, however, only sustainable in the short-run since it provokes untenable tensions within the party.

⁴¹⁸ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), "The Past in the Present", op. cit.
194

A change in a party's position on European integration in the long-term can only derive from the re-assessment of the relationship between parties' ethos and European attitudes. Although Eurosceptic parties will feel uncomfortable in governmental positions they will stick with their ideological evaluation of European integration. In the long-run, the tension between Euroscepticism and office makes these parties drift to the margins of the system.

The further inference of the ethos theory is that party external action is strongly determined by its internal life.⁴¹⁹ The concepts defining a party's ethos are a reserve out of reach of bids for or opposition to government. Ideological change is a separate and long process subject to its own conceptual limits. Thus parties based on the conception of class will not propose policies that promote market efficiency to the detriment of redistributive policies, but they can devise policies counteracting inequalities stemming from positions in the labour market through demand- or supply-side policies. Equally, ecological parties will not propose policies that put economic growth ahead of ecological concerns, but the form of conceiving the ecological crisis will determine the types of policies they advocate.

The change in a party's position on Europe can be triggered by a bid for or to coalesce opposition to the government. However, this change will only be sustainable if it provokes a permanent reassessment of the relationship between parties' ethos and European policy regimes, resulting in a new status quo. This process is likely to occur only in parties in which the economic ethos is predominant. Since political concepts are indivisible and unquantifiable, parties based on a predominant political ethos hold unconditional support or opposition to European integration. Replacing the concept of the community at the core of a party's identity is subject to even stronger limits, only attainable through a longer time span and normally involving the creation of a different party organisation. Therefore, the impact of party's office-seeking strategies will be limited by the political and economic conceptions. The incompatibility between Euroscepticism and office condemns parties whose values are

⁴¹⁹ Bartolini, S. (2000), *op.cit.*

incompatible to European integration to a polarising position. Party systems competing on a political axis will experience strong conflicts over European integration.

The constraints imposed on party strategies by core values become most evident in the Euroscepticism of nationalist formations. The sufficiency of nationalism for Euroscepticism, even when a party is part of a governing coalition, is illustrated by several parties in Poland. Even when pursuing a centripetal strategy, nationalists remain Eurosceptic. In the 1991-1993 and the 1997-2001 governments several political formations showed the resilience of nationalism in face of strategic pressures. The history of the AWS coalition and its failed attempts to achieve a unified party organisation and stay in office illustrates the instability that nationalist Eurosceptic parties impose on a party system where conflicts over the definition of the political community run high. Despite the acute awareness that the right should be united in order to face the SLD's centre-left block, the AWS's nationalist factions remained Eurosceptic. When the disintegration of the party coalition proved irreversible several Eurosceptic and centrifugal parties gained parliamentary representation.

The analysis of the Polish case confirms the theoretical ideas proposed in the ethos theory but also suggests that the establishment of a party's identity and its strategic behaviour are not independent from the process of Europeanization. In post-communist Central and Eastern Europe, "Europe", as the only symbol referring to the future, gained a more prominent meaning than in Western Europe. Scrutinising the compatibility between parties' core concepts and European integration quickly became a task of the party.

Europe seen from the political prism

The typology of parties' ethos assumes that parties are primarily based on either a political or an economic core conception. The different nature of political and economic concepts means that some families are more prone to change than others. Since economic values are more amenable to quantification and attainable by degrees, parties based on economic values can change their attitudes towards the European Union. In contrast, political values are absolute concepts while those parties whose identities are based on political conceptions are fixed in their positions.

The nation and its problematic place on the European sphere

The nation is the political conception that has become the main source of opposition to European integration. Resistance to the transfer of political authority from the nation-state to the European level in the last half century originated in the ideology that legitimises the political authority of nation states, i.e., nationalism. Concepts of political community are indivisible and result in an absolute rejection of European integration. The Polish case also illustrates that nationalism is a powerful basis for political action even when it hinders parties' chances of keeping office, for example, by leading them to adopt Eurosceptic positions.

Two party types take the nation as their central identifying concept: nationalists and national conservatives. The difference between them is that while nationalists are locked in their political conceptions, national conservatives can switch to a neo-liberal economic identity. Although nationalists often try to develop a neo-liberal economic identity to dilute their nationalism, this is often not sufficient for replacing their core identity. The centrality of the nation in a party's identity determines the resilience of its scepticism despite a positive evaluation of the economic effects of European integration and a centripetal strategy of competition. Therefore, nationalist parties and national conservatives often meet increasing difficulties in their attempts to gain and stay in office.

Since nationalists' understanding of the political community is necessarily incompatible with the principles of European integration, these parties become troublesome partners in government. In a multi-level system of governance a Eurosceptic party's opposition to an essential feature of the political system difficult their participation in government. In the long-term Eurosceptic parties will be gradually excluded from the centre. Party systems organised around the political axis, i.e. where the conflicts between nationalism and cosmopolitanism run high, tend to become arenas of conflicts on European integration. The irreducible nature of political concepts makes European integration a disruptive and contentious issue. Nationalist parties may attempt to integrate government, but their strategy-derived Europhilism is necessarily temporary.

The increased importance of nationalism in Poland is far from an isolated phenomenon. In several other European countries nationalist parties have gained increased electoral support. Not only have nationalist parties proved resilient in their beliefs, but new parties based on such appeals have successfully entered the electoral arena. The limits to the transformation of the nationalist ethos are illustrated by the evolution of the nationalist camp in Poland, in particular of its most representative party, the ZChN. Despite its centripetal strategy and willingness to reject Euroscepticism, the ZChN remained an unsettling element of centre-right coalitions. The attempts of the ZChN to forge a conservative identity based on neo-liberalism were unsuccessful and lacked credibility. Despite the party's emphasis on nationalism having been diluted through the addition of a liberal economic doctrine, the ZChN's Catholic nationalism remained its identifying element as the difficulties of the party in developing a positive European stance, and the several splits it suffered while attempting to do so, demonstrate.

The re-organisation of the right in the wake of the 2001 elections opened the way for a new Catholic nationalist formation in the League of Polish Families (LPR). The LPR's ideology is an even more radical example of the synthesis of Catholicism and Polish nationalism that proves the continuing appeal of National Democracy of Roman Dmowski. The LPR's leader, Roman Gyertych, is therefore the inheritor of a long tradition of Polish nationalist thought, now finding its number one enemy in European integration.

The Christian cosmopolitanism: Christian democrats, the hardest Europhiles

Due to the demise of civil society as the identifying element of liberal parties, currently, Christian democrats are the only party based on a cosmopolitan conception of the political community. Political actors viewing the politics of the continent through the prism of Christian cosmopolitanism consistently promote European integration as the way to overcome national approaches and advance the political integration of Europe. Christian democrats are therefore the unalterable supporters of a project that fulfils the vision of overcoming the nation-state and achieving a cosmopolitan political order.

The failure to establish viable Christian democratic parties as the main centre-right formation in Central and Eastern Europe. This failure is most intriguing in Poland and, with hindsight, has had the most dramatic effects. The persistence and increased importance of nationalism has prevented the development of a strong party with a Christian democratic political ethos, and provides an effective explanation for the unusually high propensity of Polish right-wing parties to adopt Eurosceptic positions.

In party systems where the political axis is predominant a sizeable Christian democratic party can prevent the emergence of strong conflicts over European integration. The presence of a strong Christian democratic party assures a Europhile centre-right core. Conflicts over integration will appear less vivid and confined to the margins. Christian democracy appears the most effective ideological antidote to political nationalism in party systems where conflicts over the definition of political community are intense.

The failure of Polish Christian democracy demonstrates the importance of the ideas informing political “communities of discourse” for the formation of political parties. The legacy of national Catholicism continued to divide the right-wing political elite after 1989, as it had in the interwar period. The division of post-Solidarity political elite between Christian nationalists and Christian cosmopolitans reflected the divisions between liberals and traditionalists within the Polish Catholic Church. The disagreements between those preaching universal Catholicism in the Polish episcopate and those advocating Polish national Catholicism prevented the Church from acting as a unifying force and supporting one political party or even in succeeding as mediators of political forces.

The ideological divergences within the post-Solidarity elite resulted in a highly fragmented right-wing political scene throughout the nineties, which became further fragmented after the 2001 elections. The AWS’s increasingly Eurosceptic rhetoric while in office illustrates the resilience of a nationalist identity against office-seeking considerations. The centrifugal tactics and nationalist rhetoric of the AWS’s factions at the end of the 1997-2001 parliaments led to the dissolution of the coalition for the subsequent 2001 parliamentary elections in which national Catholicism achieved success through its advocacy of protecting the national culture and the state’s political sovereignty.

Europe seen from the economic prism

Parties whose identifying community is of economic nature are able to successfully alter their stance on European integration. First, the divisible and quantifiable nature of economic concepts results in a conditional appreciation of the European economic regime. Second, since the European Single Market is not positively based on either a liberal or a social democratic model, the EU has adopted both market opening and regulatory policy regimes. Changes occurring at these two levels result in the re-appreciation of European integration.⁴²⁰

The reassessment of European economic regimes by parties based on the economic ethos appears linked to a centripetal mode of competition. In the last decade the positive interaction between centripetalism and a change in the European policy regimes, allowed social democratic and economic conservatives to preserve their centrist status. While in Western Europe the positive evaluation of the EU by social democrats has mostly resulted from a surge of regulatory activity by the Commission, the change in the positions of Central and Eastern European social democrats on the EU was caused by their internal transformation from communism to a modern conception of social democracy, combining a liberal political stance with supply-side conceptions of class-based economic policies. This transformation coincided with the clarification of the relations between the European Union and Poland, which allowed for a reassessment of European integration. For example, the conclusion of the negotiation of the agricultural chapter regulating the application of the CAP subsidies led the PSL to abandon the opposition to a system previously considered discriminatory of Polish farmers.

⁴²⁰ Majone, G. (1996), Regulating Europe, London, Routledge; Scharpf, F. "Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of European Welfare States" in Marks, G. Scharpf, F. and Schmitter, P. and Streeck, W. (eds.), Governance in the European Union, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The class: social democrats and their more extreme cousins

Social democrats, the defenders of the working class and the promoters of the welfare state, have been committed to the elimination of class differences by counteracting inequalities stemming from positions in the labour market and protecting low and minimum income groups.⁴²¹ Although social democrats have been one of the parties with a stronger commitment to class internationalism, their understanding of the international economic system has in the past led them to consider that the nation-state is the most appropriate setting for correcting market inequalities on the basis of class. Therefore, despite internationalism being embedded in the ideological roots of left-wing movements,⁴²² during its evolution, social democracy has often held a nationalist political ethos. The nation-state was regarded as the best setting to apply class-based policies that challenged an international economic order that benefits capital rather than labour and creates pressures for the lowering of welfare state standards.

However, in the context of a globalised international economy the perception that national Keynesianism is no longer viable has compelled social democrats to renounce demand-side policies and undertake the pursuit of a new growth path to compete in global markets by maintaining certain instruments for influencing the supply-side of the economy.⁴²³ The re-operationalisation of parties' ethos underway in Western Europe in the nineteen eighties and nineties is however bound by the limits established by the concept of class. Social democrats will not embrace policies that pursue growth at the expense of social justice, and will only support European integration if they see it as furthering this goal.

In the early nineties, following the Single European Act (SEA), the EU began developing market regulation instruments. Since its inception the European institutions had

⁴²¹ Huber, E. Ragin, C. and Stephens, J. (1993), op.cit.

⁴²² Since its inception both the socialist and communist movements have defended workers' interests at the international level. The International Socialist, as a separate entity from the PES, embodies this effort.

been aiming at de-regulation of the market European terms, therefore this represented a new policy approach. Social democratic parties acknowledged this change and in a departure from their previously held positions, came to support integration.⁴²⁴ The endorsement of policies promoting supply-side correctors to the market at the European level coincided with the national social democratic parties' policy preferences at the national level. Social democrats' Hard Europhilism mainly derives from their changed perception of integration as a project occupied not only with the completion of the internal market but also with its regulation. Social democratic parties therefore support the deepening of political integration in the European Union, as necessary to correct the failures of national states in promoting market regulation. Furthermore this support is strengthened by a political ethos that conceived the political community in cosmopolitan terms.

While the change of attitude of Western European social democratic parties was the result of these two processes, in Central and Eastern Europe the change of attitude of social democrats has resulted from a different understanding of class. The Polish case shows that although the former communist party's inherited internationalism predisposed it to Europhilism, it was the party's embracement of social democracy and the transformation of its economic beliefs away from state ownership that drove the party's change of attitude towards the European Union. The legacy of communist internationalist ideals is now embodied in the SLD's Europhilism. The party supports European integration because it views the EU as a promoter of left-wing economic ideals and judges it a politically valid project to overcome the shortcomings of the nation-state.

The SLD's transformation is not however exclusively a result of the Europeanization process. The specific interpretation of its left-wing inheritance devised by the party modernizers is the result of a clear choice of the party leaders to model themselves on European social democracy and support European Integration. This support for European

⁴²³ Boix, C. (2000), op. cit.

⁴²⁴ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), op. cit.

integration – a symbol of the transformation of the party and a source of its legitimacy – has to an extent determined the direction of the transformation of the SLD, and the specific form of its present identity.

The conversion of social democrats to a pro-integration position was not accomplished by those factions that interpret the concept of class in extreme terms. They consider that European integration prevents the attainment of the policy regimes that are essential for correcting inequalities deriving from positions in the labour market, such as public control over capital flows, extensive public investment in industrial policy and the statutory right to work and housing.

In Poland, Self-Defence (Samoobrona) originally a protest movement of agrarian origins, articulated an extreme interpretation of the concept of class. Noteworthy for the non-intellectual character of its programme, the Samoobrona defined its ethos over time as an extreme interpretation of class concepts. Its policies addressed the needs of the losers of transition. Initially the political ethos of the Samoobrona was clearly nationalist, but in 2000 the party dropped nationalism as a source of party identification. The move coincided with a conditional rather than an outright rejection of European integration. The fact exemplifies the effects that a secondary political ethos has on parties' European attitudes. The protection of vulnerable economic groups against the vagaries of a liberal economic system formed the basis of both Samoobrona's polarising strategy, and its perception of an *a priori* incompatibility between European integration and the national interest.

The market: liberals and liberal conservatives

Since the free market represents liberals' identifying concept, their evaluation of the EU is based on whether it contributes to the creation of a free European-wide market. While broadly in favour of a project that appears geared to the abolition of barriers to trade and the creation of economic competition at the European level, liberals have become more sceptical of integration since the Delors' Commission launched policies to increase market regulation and redistribution at the European level. While the positioning of liberal parties on either side of the Europhilism-Euroscepticism line depends on their evaluation of the effects of

the EU's economic policy regime. Liberals' support for the EU's economic regime, if combined with the civil society as the secondary identitary element, results in unconditional Europhilism.

The liberal conservatives, holding the nation as their political ethos, will be either Soft Europhiles or Hard Eurosceptics. When judging the EU's economic regime as too regulatory, their opposition to the effects of economic integration is reinforced by the opposition of their nationalism to political integration. A positive evaluation of the European policy regimes is mitigated by the nationalist view of the political order.

In Poland the liberal conservatism of the right-wing Citizens Platform's resulted in the centre-right's variable support for integration. While in the early nineties the civil society was the identifying concept of political liberalism, after the 2001 elections and the formation of the Citizens' Platform (PO), economic liberalism emerged as the dominant liberal identity. Therefore the early liberal parties' appraisal of European integration in terms of civil society gave way to a conditional and economically based approval of the EU. The centre-right in Poland therefore appears to be consolidating around a neo-liberal economic ethos.

The liberals' troubled development is a mirror image of the failure of Catholic cosmopolitanism to thrive in the Polish party system. Christian and liberal political cosmopolitanism have not thrived as central identifying elements of Polish parties and the ideological anchors of a Europhile right-wing coalition. The replacement of political with economic liberalism as the central identifying element meant the disappearance of an unconditional support for European integration as a community of civil societies. The economic appraisal of integration is conditional and dependent on the policy regimes of European integration. The political and unconditional support for the European project in the post-Solidarity camp now appears to have been a phenomenon of the transition. The centre-right now approaches European integration through the prism of the market.

The estate and its elusive operationalisation

The farmers have been the social group that has most strongly benefited from European integration through the CAP.⁴²⁵ The concept of estate, on which agrarians are founded, means that farmers are entitled to benefits from the state. Nevertheless, the agrarian party family is a vivid example of how the understanding of economic community determines the perceptions of the benefits and costs of the CAP. The form in which the concept of estate is operationalised by parties is as important for their appreciation of integration as the real benefits deriving from the EU.

The stance on Europe taken by the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) illustrates well the decisiveness that a favourable evaluation of the application of the CAP on Polish agriculture had on the attitude the party towards European integration. Until 1997 the party's nationalist interpretation of the role of family farming was incompatible with the reforms proposed by the European Union. The PSL's peasant ideology, inherited from inter-war Poland, considered small family farms as the backbone of the Polish nation and the defence of small farmers' as vital constituents of the nation became the justification for a farmer's party.

Following the landslide defeat in the 1997 election, the party changed its leadership. This resulted in attempts to widen the party's appeal beyond small family farmers. The party changed its discourse away from the nationalist interpretation of family farming into a wider and more pragmatic understanding of the farming community. A re-evaluation of the extension of the CAP on Polish farmers was also facilitated by the beginning of the negotiations between Poland and the EU. In contrast to the party's previous insistence on the promotion of conditions that maintained family farming, by 2001, Jarosław Kalinowski, claimed that the party's support for Europe depended exclusively on whether Polish farmers would enjoy similar competitive conditions as their counterparts in the EU member states.

⁴²⁵ Gabel, M. (1998), *Interests and Integration: Market Liberalisation, Public Opinion and European Union*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

This case thus shows that parties founded on specific agrarian cleavages are constrained by their specific constituencies' economic interests.

The general applicability of the framework

The strength of nationalism as a political identity makes Poland an extreme case of the increasing divisiveness of nationalism and Euroscepticism in the consolidation (or failure to consolidate) the party system core. Poland serves as a basis for producing and testing a theory of heterogeneous causality of parties' European positions. Although the level of structuration provided by the political axis to Polish political competition is unusually high,⁴²⁶ the framework appears relevant to explain the dilemmas experienced by nationalist parties holding office in other European countries as they challenge the European consensus on integration. For the last ten years, nationalist parties have proven increasingly successful in gaining a central place in European party systems, and in providing a strong challenge to established centrist parties.

Moving beyond the immediate context of this study, we can test this explanation in two different sets of cases. The first set consists of cases from Central and Eastern Europe, where the European issue determined the original ideological set up of party systems, i.e., where it seemed to influence which types of parties occupy the left and right-wing space. The framework suggests that party system core formation Central and Eastern European democracies hinges on the ability of the different ideological groups to agree on basic identities and the compatibility of those with the values informing European integration.

⁴²⁶ Kitschelt, H. et al. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation and Inter-Party Cooperation, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 457.

Hungary and Czech Republic

The interaction between European integration and the formation of centre-right parties in Hungary and the Czech Republic was less problematic than in Poland. Although the Czech centre-right party is Eurosceptic and European integration inspires some reservations in its Hungarian counterpart, in neither country the issue became as divisive as in Poland. From the mid- nineties - and into the early twenty-first century - both countries saw a structured core party system being formed, based on liberal conservatism on the right, and social democracy on the left.

The Hungarian centre right, due to the absense of Eurosceptic parties since the 2002 elections, is the case that contrasts most markedly with Poland, where in 2001 20 percent of popular vote was cast for Eurosceptic parties and from 2005 a coalition of eurosceptic parties took office. The similarity of the Hungarian and the Polish negotiated transitions, the occupation of the left-wing political space by ex- communist parties, as well as the predominance of the political axis in structuring competition, makes comparison between the two countries useful. The peaceful entry of the European issue on the Hungarian centre-right demands an analysis of party formation and the party's European attitudes.

The successful unification of the Hungarian right in a liberal conservative party shows that despite the importance of conflicts over the definition of political community for party competition, nationalism was successfully subordinated to a neo-liberal economic ethos.⁴²⁷ The transformation of the Alliance of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) from liberalism to liberal conservatism (with a strong nationalist secondary identity)⁴²⁸ proved strategic in the effective capture of the centre. It also allowed the party to sustain a Soft Europhile position in

⁴²⁷ Kiss, C. (2003), "From Liberalism to Conservatism: The Federation of Young Democrats in Post- Communist Hungary", *East European Politics and Societies*, 16(3): 739-761.

⁴²⁸ op.cit.

harmony with the party's centrist strategies. The FIDESZ captured the nationalist appeal while subordinating it to a secondary element.

Viktor Orban, with his characteristically strong leadership style captured the window of opportunity provided by the disintegration of the anti-communist umbrella organisation, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and the weakening of the senior liberal party, the Alliance of Free Democrats (SzDSz), when it joined a governmental coalition with the ex-communist Hungarian Socialist Party (MSzP). The FIDESZ galvanised the right-wing spectrum and, in the run up to the 2002 elections, it incorporated minor parties, in a bid to control the full right-wing space. From 1994 the FIDESZ detached its destiny from the SzDSz, previously its senior counterpart, and set about its ideological transformation, stressing a family-based social policy, defending the creation of a strong state and espousing conservative Catholic morals. These themes were not part of an embrace of Christian democracy, but were rather a development on neo-liberal economic themes common to other conservative parties. As XXXXX notes, the bourgeoisification of society, aimed at the creation and support of a middle class in post-communist Hungary, was only possible following the introduction of free market reforms. The FIDESZ's apology of individual capital accumulation, despite advocating the supporting role of the state, was still based on the idea of the individual economic freedom.

Alongside its liberal economic programme, the FIDESZ adopted a typically conservative political identity. After it took office in 1998 and took charge of accession negotiations, the rhetoric of the party was increasingly determined by nationalist elements. When Prime Minister Orban asked the parliament to vote for the government's programme, told them to demonstrate who "belongs to the nation".⁴²⁹ As the subsequent parliamentary elections of 2002 approached and the new identity of the party consolidated, Laszlo Kover, the party chairman after the 2000 Congress, made clear that "the nation is only important to

⁴²⁹ Ripp, Z. "A Letamas Mergele" (The balance of the attack), *Mozgo Vilag*, 25, 4 *quoted in* Kiss, C. (2003), *op.cit.*

us", and "only we have a message for the nation".⁴³⁰ Despite the strong nationalist language, the party's commitment to economic liberalism remained the central element of the party's identity and the basis of its governmental policy. The creation of a strong middle-class based on private enterprise became the central plank of its government policy. Under these conditions, FIDESZ remained broadly positive regarding the compatibility between the perceived national interest and European integration. At the 2001 election the mobilisation of the right-wing vote by FIDESZ resulted in the exclusion of polarising Eurosceptic parties from parliament after the 2001 election.⁴³¹ The Hungarian right-wing suggests that a centrist identity compatible with European integration facilitates the creation of a stable centrist party.

Like in Hungary, the consolidation of the centre-right was achieved in the Czech Republic around a liberal conservative identity. Differently from the FIDESZ, the Czech centre right is Eurosceptic, but in opposition to the Polish case, the European issue does not reinforce any divides. Vaclav Klaus, the finance minister in the first democratic Czech government, understood early on that the pervasive anti-party sentiment among the dissident group Civic Movement was inadequate in a democracy, as these demand only institutionalised parties. Klaus's Civic Democratic Party (ODS), created in 1991, was thus a forerunner in the occupation of the centre-right in the Czech Republic. Its neo-liberal identity reflected the centrality of questions of economic reform in the early period of transition, to which the party answered with a radical program of marketization leading to the establishment of a liberal market economy where the state would have a limited role to play in the regulation of the economy. The Klaus government, which was formed after the 1992 elections, continued in power until June 1996. It consisted of the ODS and three smaller parties: the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) which merged with the ODS in 1995; the Christian

⁴³⁰ Budula, I. "Szemelyi kerdesek" (Questions of Personnel), Magyar Narancs, 23 December 1999 quoted in Kiss, C. (2003), op.cit.

Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL); and the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA). By the mid-nineties the core of the centre-right party system was formed.

Vaclav Klaus was also the first Central and Eastern European leader to advance a critical attitude to European integration, fashioned on Thatcher's criticism of Europe as "socialism through the back door". The Civic Democrats' extreme interpretation of economic liberalism was, following the unexpected emergence of the Czech state in 1993, complemented by the party's self-portrayal as the protector of the fragile Czech nation. As Hanley describes and explains in its article "*From neo-liberalism to national interests*", as the party adopted the nation as a secondary party identity, the party's Euroscepticism hardened. Eurorealism, a position that claims to evaluate European integration according to "real" as opposed to ideological criteria, became from 1997, the label of outspoken opposition of Vaclav Klaus to European integration. Such position, although being principally backed by arguments of economic nature, accession leading to the over-regulation of the Czech economy,⁴³² was reinforced by political arguments, i.e., an opposition to the supranational character of the EU.⁴³³ European integration was accused to further the interests of West European states, in particular those of Germany, and being therefore incompatible with the Czech national interest. In the 2001 *Manifest of Czech Eurorealism*, the party evoked the marginal influence of the Czech Republic in European decision-making as a reason for delaying and possibly withdrawing the Czech application.⁴³⁴ While Klaus's economic liberalism made it accuse the European Union of curtailing economic freedom, the party's vocal political nationalism resulted in a vigorous defence of the Czech state as a guarantee of

⁴³¹ Batory, A. (2002), "Europe and the Hungarian Parliamentary Elections of April 2002", *RIIA/OERN Election Briefing Paper*, 1.

⁴³² Hanley, S. (2003), "The Czech EU Accession Referendum 13-14 June 2003", *RIIA/OERN Election Briefing*, 6.

⁴³³ Sean Hanley, "From Neo-Liberalism to National Interests: Ideology, Strategy, and Party Development in the Euroscepticism of the Czech Right", *East European Politics and Societies*, 18 (August 2004), 513-48.

⁴³⁴ J. Zahradil, *Manifest Ceskeho Eurorealism*, (Prague: ODS, April 2001).

national identity and political self-determination against the supranational institutions of the EU.⁴³⁵

Slovakia

The way the European issue influenced core party formation in Slovakia differed clearly from that of the other CEE countries. In contrast to the splitting effect that Europe had on the Polish governing coalition between 1997 and 2001, the European issue was the *raison d'être* of the 1998- 2002 and the 2002-2006 governing coalitions in Slovakia. The 1994-1998 Meciar government non-democratic practices and anti-NATO rethorics resulted in the exclusion of Slovakia from the first group starting accession negotiations at the Luxembourg Council in 1997. This decision triggered the coalition of opposition forces in Bratislava, who started to mobilise a common front to defeat the Meciar party in the 1998 parliamentary election.⁴³⁶ The Slovak Democratic Coalition which was created by "smelting all the democratic forces in the country so that the group would be the strongest",⁴³⁷ was above all based on the understanding that an alliance between pro-European Christian democrats and liberals was of the essence to save Slovakia from international isolation and internal stagnation.⁴³⁸

Despite the Christian democratic origins of the Slovak Democratic Coalition, which was launched by moderate Christian democrats and liberals, and the intention of its leadership to create a broad Christian democratic movement following the model of the German Christian democrats, the divisions among the Christian democratic party between hardliners and moderates weakened the chances of their success, and proved a resilient

⁴³⁵ Sean Hanley, "The Czech Eu Accession Referendum 13-14 June 2003", *RIIA/OERN Election Briefing Paper*, 6 (2003), .

⁴³⁶ Karen Henderson, "Slovakia and the Democratic Criteria for Eu Accession" in Karen Henderson, eds., *Back to Europe: Central and Eastern Europe and the European Union* (London and Philadelphia, PA: UCL Press, 1999), pp.

⁴³⁷ Mikuláš Dzurinda, *Kde je vol'a tam je cesta: môj maratón*, (Bratislava: Koloman Kertesz Bagala, 2002), p.11.

⁴³⁸ {Haughton, 2004 #426}

source of division in the centre-right. After ousting Meciar from government and taking office, the conservative wing of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), anxious to preserve its ideological purity, soon challenged the legitimacy of the Slovak Democratic Coalition (SDK) and advocated a return to the original five-party coalition form. Opposite plans were devised by Prime Minister Mikulas Dzurinda and his allies, who intended to make the Slovak Democratic Coalition the vehicle of a new formation with a wider appeal. After futile attempts to find an agreement, Dzurinda and a group of ministers created the Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (SDKU) in 2000. The SDKU, projecting the image of the sole guarantor of Slovakia's entry into NATO and the EU against the comeback of Meciar – this time in coalition with a new left-wing party, SMER, would contest the 2002 elections, and, despite winning only 15% of the vote, be the leading party in a second electoral coalition with Christian democrats, liberals and the Hungarian minority party.

The survival of Christian democrats as the heart of the governing coalition in 2002 assured the compatibility between the values of the centre right and European integration. Despite the party system core in Slovakia being still largely unconsolidated, the fact that the coalition opposing Meciar in 1998 was built on the basis of a strong pro-Western consensus means that the germ of the centre-right was built on non-nationalist principles. Although the formation of a core right-wing in Slovakia on the basis of Christian democracy is troubled by the division of the movement between moderates and purist ideologists, the centre right is nevertheless devoid of nationalists.

The exclusion of nationalists from the pro-European coalition takes its full meaning in the aftermath of Slovakia's accession to the EU, with the coalition of Robert Fico's left-wing SMER (Direction), with the of HZDS of Vladimir Meciar and the Slovak Nationalist Party. Despite the uncertainty involving the future of the centre-right, this pattern of coalition appears to reinforce a division among the right and the left along nationalist lines. Neither the SNS nor the HZDS are currently Eurosceptic, the first preferring to concentrate on an anti-Hungarian attitude, the second showing its lack of ideological basis and opportunistic character, having changed its European attitude after it lost office in 1998.

Austria

In Austria the increased divisiveness of nationalism within the FPÖ after it took office with the Austrian Christian democrats, was intrinsically related with the European issue. Such relation materialised in an unusually concrete way first when the EU countries introduced diplomatic sanctions after the FPÖ took office. The Austrian case shows in a forceful way how European integration heightens the tensions of a nationalist party's participation in a governmental coalition. The European issue was from the beginning the achille's heel of the coalition of the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) with the Austrian Christian democrats (ÖVP) in 1999, and it deepened the severe tensions within the FPÖ between the factions advocating ideological consistency and those pursuing pragmatic office-seeking considerations, a conflict that led to the split of the party in April 2005.

Europe first became a central point of contention within the party when the governments of the other 14 EU member states introduced diplomatic sanctions against the coalition government by its opposition to the presence of nationalists. The heavy decline in the 2002 parliamentary elections primarily stemmed from tensions between office-holding constraints and the party's nationalist identity. The transformation of the FPÖ into a liberal conservative party was impeded by structural difficulties in overcoming the commitment to the nation as the fundamental political community. The soaring tensions caused by this resulted in the split of the Freedom Party of Austria in 2005.

The FPÖ's ideology has its origins in that of the nationalist camp that represented the aspirations of the German-speaking majority, at the time of democratic mobilisation, within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During World War II, the predecessor of the FPÖ was linked with the Nazi regime, leading to its exclusion from government until 1983.⁴³⁹ In the seventies and eighties, the party several times attempted to change its identity and overcome its

⁴³⁹ Luther, K. (1988), "The Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs: Protest Party or Governing Party?" in Kirchner, E. Liberal Parties in Western Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.240.

exclusion from office, by replacing nationalism with economic liberalism. However, the limits to the possibility of changing the basic ethos of the party's identity soon became apparent.

The temporary success in reversing the hierarchy of values between nationalism and economic liberalism made it possible for the party to become part of a government coalition with the Socialist Party. This was made possible by the pre-eminence exerted by the top liberal elite which had the party renamed internationally as the Liberal Party of Austria and made it a member of the Liberal International. In 1985, Vice Chancellor Steger and G. Stix attempted to formalise this change by introducing the concept of freedom as the centre-piece in the new party programme. Freedom was conceptualised as autonomy for the individual *and* the national community, but the attempt to reconcile the two party traditions also meant a reversal of the FPÖ's tradition of subordinating liberalism to nationalism.⁴⁴⁰

However, the constraints and compromises imposed by participation in government alienated parts of the party's rank-and-file, in particular its regional structures, who soon organised to challenge the predominance of the party-in-office. In 1986, taking advantage of the strengthened position of nationalists within the party's regional structures, Jörg Haider took the grievances of the membership against the liberal leadership to win the party's leadership on a nationalist platform. A reversal of the ideological transformation from nationalism to liberalism quickly followed, and when the EU rose in the Austrian political priorities in the run up to the 1994 enlargement, took up an Eurosceptic stance. In the 1999 elections the FPÖ, campaigning on a nationalist platform, significantly increased its share of the vote to more than 27% of the popular vote, mainly by drawing voters away from the Austrian Christian Democratic Party (ÖVP). In January 2000 the ÖVP formed a governmental coalition with the FPÖ, which provoked an outcry among the governments of EU member states.

The diplomatic sanctions imposed by Austria's EU partners increased internal pressures and served to mobilise Austria's anti-FPÖ forces and led to the resignation of Jörg

Haider from the party's chairmanship on 1 May 2000 in favour of Susanne Riess-Passer, who became Vice-Chancellor and led the FPÖ's government team.⁴⁴¹ However, Haider's resignation did not exclude him from party politics, and he remained the FPÖ's leader behind the scenes and a member of the coalition committee. Haider considered himself responsible for the FPÖ's success⁴⁴² and resented the popularity of the moderate FPÖ leaders with ministerial posts, like Riess-Passer and Finance Minister Karl Heinz Grassler.⁴⁴³ Enmeshed in this conflict of personalities was the deeper issue of the nationalist party identity. The conflict between the office-seeking moderate wing of the party and Jörg Haider and his followers implied the (re)definition of the party's identity away from nationalism. However, neither Haider nor his followers were inclined to let that happen and in the midst of a party crisis involving the two factions, one of Haider's followers, Stadler, launched a petition against the party's moderate wing in order "to ensure the FPÖ remains Haider's party". Among the conditions raised in the petition were typical demands destined to reinforce the party's identity, like vetoing the EU enlargement if the Czech government did not revoke the Benes decrees.

The FPÖ's nationalist identity is the basis of its Hard Euroscepticism. The tensions between the centripetal strategies of the FPÖ while in office and its nationalist ethos - embodied in Jörg Haider's leadership - became evident and contributed to the disintegration of the party soon after its participation in the governmental coalition. Three of the FPÖ's ministers resigned and the government finally fell, which led to early elections in early

⁴⁴⁰ op.cit.

⁴⁴¹ Luther, K. (2003), "The Self Destruction of a Right Wing Populist Party? The Austrian Parliamentary Election of 2002", West European Politics, 26(2): 136-152.

⁴⁴² Luther, K. (1988), "The Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs: Protest Party or Governing Party?" in Kirchner, E.J. Liberal Parties in Western Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 251.

⁴⁴³ Luther, K. (2003), "The Self Destruction of a Right Wing Populist Party? The Austrian Parliamentary Election of 2002", West European Politics, 26(2): 136-152.

2002.⁴⁴⁴ The question of Haider's leadership, feeding the heavy intra-party turmoil, reflected into a marked electoral decline, the party losing two-thirds of its 1999 vote.

The situation had echoes of the historic confrontation between the centrist wing of the party and its nationalist elements, principally engrained in the provincial politicians longing for a revival of the populist roots of the party. Such defeat was again repeated in the infighting between the head of the list, the centrist Kronberger and the third candidate of the list, the nationalist Molzer, in the 2004 European Parliament elections campaign.⁴⁴⁵ Molzer's victory reflected the ultimate predominance of a clear adherence to the German-national core group in the party's nationalist identity. A group of FPO politicians holding ministerial posts, realising that the FPO was an intrinsically nationalist party and strongly resisted the compromises inherent in a centrist strategy, decided to split from the FPO and create a centrist party. The Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ) was thus born in 2005. The centrist strategy of the party was however not successful, and in the 2006 elections, the BZÖ tried to identify itself with the FPO and returned to nationalist and eurosceptic attitudes.

The Agrarian parties

The ethos theory also explains why the Hungarian agrarian party, the Independent Smallholders Party (FKGP) is Soft Europhile⁴⁴⁶ despite its nationalist ethos. Agrarian parties are fundamentally determined by the conception of estate as their basic economic community. Their evaluation of the EU depends on whether they see it as facilitating transfers to farmers. Contradicting previous explanations that consider the party's

⁴⁴⁴ op.cit.

⁴⁴⁵ {Fallend, 2006 #425}

⁴⁴⁶ Batory, A. (2002), "Attitudes to Europe: Ideology, Strategy and the issue of European Union membership in Hungarian Party Politics", *Party Politics*, 8(5): 525-540, p.543.

positive attitude towards European integration the result of its competitive strategies,⁴⁴⁷ the ethos theory considers FKGP's Europhilism the result of a positive evaluation of integration's impact on support for farmers. Nationalism, as a secondary element in the party's identity, merely determines whether this support is conditional or unconditional.

The limits to the applicability

The application of this framework beyond the Polish case shows its limitations. First, the framework does not apply to parties which are founded primarily on office-seeking consideration rather than on their ethos. The European position of a political party fitting the Downsian description of parties as teams of office-seeking politicians (Downs, 1957) can not be predicted from its ideology, since their policy stances do not necessarily translate ideological positions. Contrary to the temporary character of the European positions of ethos-based parties in electoral periods, the incongruence between the European positions of these parties and their stated ideology can be permanent. The Euroscepticism of the Italian Northern League (LN), a party where power-seeking considerations prime over ideology (Leonardi and Kovacs, 1993, Ruzza and Schmidtke, 1993), is inconsistent with its earlier appraisal of integration as beneficial for northern Italian minority nationalism. Several authors agree that the imperative of coalition politics led the LN to a lasting Euroscepticism, and especially to an anti-Euro stance (Albertazzi and McDonnell, 2005, Chari et al., 2004).

⁴⁴⁷ Batory, A. (2002), "Attitudes to Europe, Ideology, Strategy and the issue of European Union membership in Hungarian Party Politics", Party Politics, 8(5).

West European parties

The second setting to test the theory is the West European party systems, where the European issue gained relevance when the party systems had achieved a degree of ideological structuration. Despite the consolidation of the ideological space which is characteristic of West European party systems, the evolution of modes of European-level governance, in particular since the Maastricht Treaty which provided for the extension of majority voting, has also had indirect effects on the ideological identity of parties. The long-term incompatibility between political nationalism as the central core party ethos and centrist strategies appears particularly marked in the case of right-wing parties in Western Europe.

The British Conservative Party's change of dominant ethos from neo-liberalism to nationalism during the second half of the 1990s explains the move of the party from Soft Europhilism to Hard Euroscepticism. As a mirror image of this development, the French Gaullist camp's move from nationalism to economic liberalism in the explains the Europhilism of the Movement for the Republic (RPR). The impossibility of changing their fundamental identity underpins the Euroscepticism of Austrian and French nationalist parties, as well as the tensions between their stance on Europe and their desire to participate in government. Such tensions were most visible in the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), with the European issue rising to prominence when the party became the junior partner in a governmental coalition with the Christian Democratic Party (ÖVP) in 2000. The sanctions imposed by member states of the EU on the Austrian government were a factor in the resignation of its leader and ideological mentor, Jörg Haider. However, the impossibility of replacing its nationalist ethos resulted in a severe party crisis, causing the demise of the governmental coalition and the subsequent electoral decline of the party.

France

The ethos theory helps to explain why parties with a nationalist ethos, if this is not central to their identity, can conditionally support European integration. The evolution of the French right-wing camp illustrates how downgrading its legacy of nationalism to a secondary element, allowed the French Gaullist camp to support European integration. The transformation of the French right in the context of the conversion of governance at the European level into a more supranational regime was characterised by a clear division between nationalists like the Front National and the creation of a liberal conservative camp consisting of the UDF and, with increased dominance, the Union for the Republic (RPR).

The Gaullist camp was effectively split in the late seventies when, in 1976, Jacques Chirac created the Union for the Republic (RPR) and attempted to make the party the inheritor of de Gaulle's legacy. Initially, Chirac adopted a nationalistic Eurosceptic attitude. This became a defining difference with respect to the cosmopolitan and pro-European Union for French Democracy (UDF) created in 1978 and led by Giscard d'Estaing. In founding the RPR, Chirac attempted to reoccupy the Gaullist high ground on the issue of French national sovereignty. However, his intention was not simply to be a passive inheritor of the Gaullist legacy, but to renew the right-wing. He set out to achieve this by reinterpreting the fundamental concepts of Gaullism. During the late seventies and early eighties, Chirac's reinterpretation of Gaullism was based on the assumption that the increasing degree of European integration meant that economic liberalism should be the central identifying concept of a Gaullist party rather than political nationalism. The RPR's central identifying reference became neo-liberalism. References to de Gaulle's nationalism became much rarer.⁴⁴⁸ Instead the party stressed an economic programme clearly based on the conception of the market as the perfect distributor.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁸ Shields, J. (1996), "The French Gaullists" in Gaffney, J. Political Parties and the European Union, London: Routledge.

⁴⁴⁹ Shields, J. (1996), op. cit.

The victory of the Socialist Party on an interventionist economic platform in the 1981 elections gave the RPR a platform against which to stand. This reinforced the reinterpretation of de Gaulle's legacy away from a nationalist vision of the national interest. The party's programme stressed the centrality of economic liberalism, strongly attacking the Socialists' plans for reforming the French economy and defending the merits of deregulation, privatization and market forces.⁴⁵⁰ The French centre-right moved away from national conservatism to liberal conservatism.⁴⁵¹

In the elaboration of the party's identity, economic liberalism and the commitment to the market came hand-in-hand with a Soft Europhile stance based on a vision of European integration as the consolidation of a European free market. With the conversion of the party to market liberalism, the appeal of Europe as an economic space came to outweigh the political threat posed to national sovereignty. The role of Jacques Chirac in this transformation fits the theory outlined in this thesis. The Soft Europhile stance deriving from the new party identity made possible the compatibility between the party's ethos, European position and office-attaining ambitions. Jacques Chirac's reinterpretation of de Gaulle's legacy allowed the RPR to conditionally support a more supranational mode of governance, thus making Chirac an odd figure among Gaullists. Chirac understood that the "cosmopolitan dimension" bestowed by de Gaulle's to French nationalism, i.e., presenting a "Grand Europe" as a continuation of the defence of French national interests, was not well suited to the project of creating the European Union. The Maastricht Treaty and the extension of qualified majority voting made it explicit that the loss of sovereignty implied in European integration would be too severe for a nationalist party to bear.

⁴⁵⁰ Lauber, V. (1988), "Change and Continuity in French Conservatism since 1944", in Girvin, B. The Transformation of Contemporary Conservatism, London: Sage.

⁴⁵¹ Liberal conservative is a category proposed by Smith, G. (1988), "Between Left and Right: the Ambivalence of European Liberalism", in Kirchner, E.J. Liberal Parties in Western Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

The transformation of the RPR from national conservatism to liberal conservatism was not a consensual process and divided the ranks of the party on several occasions, most vividly during the campaign for the Maastricht Treaty. The primary cause of the split arose from differing visions of the party's identity as the inheritor of de Gaulle's nationalist legacy. A centralised and unified party saw the strongest opposition to the leadership of Jacques Chirac and the Maastricht Treaty emerge through the voices of Charles Pasqua and Philippe Sèguin. So serious was the contestation mounted by Philippe Sèguin's defence of democracy as inseparable from national sovereignty against "Maastricht Europe" that he became a serious rival to Chirac for the leadership of the party, and even for the presidency. The party eventually split on the issue of European integration.

The adoption of the Maastricht Treaty ultimately showed the contradiction between nationalism and Europhilism that had marked Le Pen's rhetoric until then. The Gaullist Europhilism and nationalist identity proved too difficult to reconcile in the face of the Maastricht Treaty provisions for extending majority voting to new areas of policy making.⁴⁵² Previously, Le Pen had attempted to reproduce de Gaulle's combination of nationalism and Europhilism, by portraying integration as a process serving the French national interest. In the 1989 European elections, Le Pen outlined a Gaullist vision of European integration, stating that France would only allow a pooling of national sovereignty where this appeared beneficial to its own interest, for example in the area of defence. This implied that European integration remained under France's control. Le Pen's support for European integration was part of an attempt to appear worthy of office, i.e., it derived from his centrist, office-seeking strategy. Le Pen campaigned for a "No" vote, in a concerted strategy that stated that the consequence of a yes vote would be "worse than losing a war", the triumph of an "international conspiracy mounted by hidden forces and vested interests against our nation", the end of the "France

⁴⁵² Fieschi, C. Shields, J. and Woods, R. (1996), "Extreme right-wing parties and the European Union" in Gaffney, J. Political Parties and the European Union, London: Routledge.

eternal".⁴⁵³ The alternative proposed by Le Pen was a European concert of nations where France was to have a predominant role.

The French case shows that a nationalist's core ideological convictions is structurally results in opposition to European integration. Nationalist parties differ from conservatives in that the latter are able to subjugate a nationalist legacy to economic neo-liberalism and maintain their centripetal strategy.

Britain

The same dilemmas over loss of sovereignty versus economic liberalism run high in the British right-wing camp. The ethos theory explains the variation in the British Conservatives' European position in the same way as it does for the French right. In a mirror image of the developments occurring in the French RPR, where the reinterpretation of the Gaullist legacy meant that economic neo-liberalism became the central party identity and allowed the RPR to adopt a Europhile attitude, the British Conservative's Euroscepticism derives opposition to both developments accomplished in Maastricht: the regulation of European markets and the extension of policy areas subject to qualified majority. The party's Eurosceptic attitude resulted also from the replacement of economic neo-liberalism as the party's central element in the party identity with political nationalism.

During the seventies, the Conservatives' reluctance to accept any form of supranational governance had been overcome by Edward Heath and the Conservatives led Britain to membership of the EEC. The party's Soft Europhilism resulted from a positive evaluation of European integration's contribution to economic liberalisation, the central goal of the party. Later, Margaret Thatcher's neo-liberalism reinforced the individual and the market

⁴⁵³ Le Monde, 25 August 1992; Liberation, 24 August 1992 quoted in Fieschi, C. Shields, J. and Woods, R. (1996), "Extreme right-wing parties and the European Union" in Gaffney, J. Political Parties and the European Union, London: Routledge.

as the identifying concept of the party. European integration was welcomed as a way to create an internal free market within the EC and as a security guarantee against the communist threat. Although the Conservatives' backing of British participation in the EEC was still a balancing act between the positive evaluation staked by neo-liberals and the opposition of nationalists, Margaret Thatcher was one of the strong supporters of the 1985 SEA.⁴⁵⁴ However, after the SEA and the completion of the Single Market, Jacques Delors's EU agenda moved towards European market regulation and a supranational mode of governance. Margaret Thatcher's 1989 Bruges speech marked a shift in the party's position on integration and against the process which ultimately led to the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty. Margaret Thatcher defined British Conservatives in relation to European integration as the party of economic deregulation and nationalism.⁴⁵⁵

Although Thatcher's Euroscepticism resulted from what it saw as "socialism through the back door", opposition to ratification of the Maastricht Treaty also derived from nationalist elements within the Conservative Party, and the issue provided a platform against which to rally against. The issue became highly salient since Margaret Thatcher's resignation as Prime Minister was partially related to her stance on European integration. To deal with the party's divisions on Maastricht, the next Prime Minister, John Major, resorted to the argument that ideological disagreement should be muted in order to maintain party unity. This argument implied that nationalist opposition to European integration should keep silent for so that the party could retain its centrist, office-seeking strategy. In order to make ratification of the Maastricht Treaty possible, John Major had to demand a parliamentary vote of confidence.⁴⁵⁶ However, in the long-run, efforts to combat a Eurosceptic attitude with an instrumental justification based on strategic, office-seeking considerations, in the long-run weakened the neo-liberal wing of the party by not properly linking the party's Europhile stance with economic

⁴⁵⁴ Morris, P. (1996), "The British Conservative Party", in Gaffney, J. Political Parties and the European Union, London: Routledge.

⁴⁵⁵ op.cit.

neo-liberal arguments. John Major's stance provided the nationalists with a rallying platform and came to be seen as an office-seeking strategy. Once out of office, under the leadership of William Hague the nationalist faction's ascendancy ensured that the party's identity was increasingly determined by the concept of a national political community and resulted in a decidedly Hard Eurosceptic stance in the 2001 parliamentary elections.

Europe and the formation of the centre-left

The causes of the evolution of the Scandinavian social democratic parties from Soft Eurosceptic positions in the seventies and eighties to Hard Europhilism in the late nineties illustrate the result of two related but separate processes elsewhere in Europe. The Scandinavian states, and in particular Denmark, developed a very comprehensive welfare state than other European. The Danish social democratic party (SD) maintained throughout the seventies and eighties an interpretation of the core class ethos through the prisms of a national Keynesian policy.⁴⁵⁷ The party's commitment to the left-wing ideal of workers' involvement in salary decisions further prevented the party from having an effective income policy sustaining wage restraint. This worsened the effects of the economic crisis that followed the 1970s oil price hikes.

The SD's belief in national Keynesianism led the party to evaluate negatively the effects of economic integration on the national economic regime. Social democrats saw the European Single Market as a mechanism for promoting tax competition and attempting to insulate markets from political interference by combining a European-wide market under selective supranational surveillance with intergovernmental decision-making vested in sovereign national governments. Therefore, until the early nineties the Danish social

⁴⁵⁶ Baker, D. Gamble, A. and Ludlam, S. (1994), "The Parliamentary Siege", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 47(1): 37-60, p.57

⁴⁵⁷ Kitschelt, H. (1995), op. cit.

democrats were among the parties with the lowest support for European integration.⁴⁵⁸ A strongly regulated national market with a sizeable welfare and social transfers implied their considering that European integration was a threat to the Danish national interest.

The re-appreciation of the SD's position on Europe resulted from changes in the European agenda and Jacques Delors's initiatives leading to regulated capitalism in line with European social democratic and Christian democratic traditions.⁴⁵⁹ The EU became the provider of a series of supply-side policies of collective goods. Simultaneously, the SD leadership came to realise that national Keynesianism was not a viable option in a globalised economic environment where capital is free to move. In 1992 the party elected a new leader, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, and in its 1993 electoral programme the party proceeded to shed traditional claims, such as workers' participation in firms' decision-making. The abandonment of national Keynesianism and the acceptance that all European economic regimes are interconnected became part of the programmatic claims of the party. Traditional claims to economic democracy, i.e., the belief that workers should have a say in the decision-making process of the firms in which they work, was replaced with an insistence on good economic governance as the priority of the party.

After winning office in 1993, the party changed the labour law and performed a reform of the tax system. The party seemed to have achieved a new formula for combining social justice and effective economic governance after the failure of the Keynesian formula in the 1970s and the 1980s.⁴⁶⁰ The party advocated a retrenchment of unemployment benefits, and focused on active labour market policies. The extent and speed of party reinterpretation of its economic ethos is illustrated in the change of attitude towards reform of the welfare state. In the late eighties the party had refused to support the conservative government

⁴⁵⁸ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), op. cit.

⁴⁵⁹ Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (1999), "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration", in Kitschelt, H. et.al. *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁶⁰ Green-Pedersen, C. and van Kersbergen, K. (2002), "The Politics of the Third Way: The Transformation of Social Democracy in Denmark and The Netherlands", *Party Politics*, 8(5): 507-524.

attempts to implement a package of tax and labour reforms, aiming at wage moderation. This reform was supported by the trade unions. However, after winning office in 1993, the social democratic government implemented a series of reforms with the objective of rolling back the welfare state.

Although Eurosceptic factions remain within the SD, the party can today be characterised as Hard Europhile.⁴⁶¹ The progressive transformation of its stance on the EU was shaped by the re-assessment of the impact of EU policies on the national economic regime. Since 1992 the SD's conditional Euroscepticism⁴⁶² evolved in a consolidated pro-European attitude. For the Danish social democrats, Europhilism became attractive, feasible and consistent with the party's policy goals. While domestic political calculations have been important determinants of the SD's Europhilism, the change in the party's position is not mere political convenience. The SD's repositioning on the European issue reflects the acknowledgement that the EU provides the most appropriate framework for pursuing many of its left-wing objectives.

The Wider Picture

As spelled out in the Introduction, the two sets of hypothesis currently discussed in the literature and tested in this thesis derive from different traditions of party analysis: in the first parties act as path-dependent and policy-seeking institutions, in the second parties are conceived as office-seeking institutions. The literature on party attitudes towards European integration has overlooked the necessity of a theorisation that associates the conditions of parties' European attitudes with the wider debates on sources of political party competition.

⁴⁶¹ Marks, G. Hooghe, L. and Wilson, C. (2002), op.cit. p. 975, Christensen, D.A. (1996), "The Left-Wing Opposition in Denmark, Norway and Sweden: Cases of Europhobia", *West European Politics*, 19(2): 525-546.

⁴⁶² Sauerberg, S. (1992), "Parties, Voters and the EC", in Lyck (ed.), *Denmark and the EC Membership Evaluated*, London: Pinter.

This de-linkage has resulted either in oversimplified or under-specified hypotheses. In this thesis I tried to overcome this shortcoming and elaborate the ideological and the strategic hypothesis and test them through the application of QCA techniques.

The ethos theory specifies the conditions of the predominance of parties' ideology while testing for the effects of a specified strategic hypothesis on parties' European positions. This presupposes the primacy of parties' ideological precepts over their competitive strategies; when the strategies and ideologies are in conflict, the conceptions constituting a party's ethos predominate over parties' competitive considerations. This means that the dual imperatives of a party's internal need for collusion and the conditions of external competition are structural elements of political life.⁴⁶³ The preservation of party identity is in the long-term predominant over office-driven competitive realities. It appears that parties based on the political ethos evaluate European integration according to the compatibility with their conception of the political community while parties based on the economic ethos evaluate integration according to its compatibility with the national one.

Contribution to the general literature on parties

Beyond the theorisation of parties' responses to European integration this thesis contributes in a fundamental way to the understanding of parties as policy-seeking entities. The typology of parties' ethos on which the theory is founded assumes that parties ultimately exist to embody a fundamental political idea, i.e., a conception of the relations between individuals and the political community. Every party owes its existence to a fundamental notion of the political and economic communities, and these determine parties' ideological positions and policy positions "down the line".

⁴⁶³ Bartolini, S. (2000), "Collusion, Competition", op. cit

The Rokkanian view of parties as representatives of social groups has been the predominant conception of parties as policy-seeking institutions.⁴⁶⁴ I argue for the primordialism of political values, which imply that parties' ethos are independent of the mobilisation and representation of social groups. Parties are ultimately "communities of discourse".⁴⁶⁵ Thus, modern ideologies are at the origin of party systems and political competition and party continuity and stability should be approached not through the prism of frozen social conflicts suggested by Rokkan's theory⁴⁶⁶ but from the rationale of elite ideological consistency. The view that parties' policy-seeking function ultimately derives from the political conceptions materialised at the time of their formation have, since Von Beyme's classification of parties in *Familles Spirituelles*, been neglected.

Parties' path-dependent nature results from the need for coherence with its ideological precepts. Beyond attaining office or representing socio-economic groups, political parties' rationality ultimately originates in the basic conceptions of political and economic reality. Thus the choices of party leaders are determined by the need for coherence well after the initial period of party formation and mobilisation is attained. As "layered" institutions⁴⁶⁷ parties can add new functions and policies, rather than replacing the existing ones. This makes them able to respond to contemporary concerns by conceiving new appeals and policies, provided these are broadly coherent with the conceptual core of their identities.

The primordial nature of a party's political and economic identity has a further theoretical implication for the discussion of political rationality. At the core of this discussion is

⁴⁶⁴ See for example Katz, R. (2002), "The Internal Life of Parties" in Luther, K. and Muller-Rommel, F. Political Parties in the New Europe: Political and Analytical Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press

⁴⁶⁵ Wuthnow, R. (1989), Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁴⁶⁶ Rokkan, S. and Lipset, S.M. (1967), "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction" in Rokkan, S. and Lipset, S.M (eds.) Party Systems and Voter Alignments: A Cross National Perspective, New York: Collier Macmillan.

the way political ideologies and strategic behaviour interact. The exclusion from the centre is in the long-run an unintended consequence of the policy positions deriving from party's ethos. This means that the choice of certain political and economic conceptions may be a structural obstacle to participation in centrist politics; identities prevent parties from compromising on issues that are institutional or informal preconditions of governmental participation. Parties' core values, as part of the preconditions for political competition, rule over strategic considerations. The constraints imposed by core identities on parties' policy positions determine their strategic behaviour. Parties' polarising behaviour result from the long-term correspondence of their policy positions to their political and economic ethos, rather than being the realisation of actors' intentions. An example of such effect is provided by the analysis conducted in chapter VI that shows how a nationalist party's Euroscepticism may in the long-run exclude it from centrist politics.

Contribution to the literature on the Europeanization of national political parties

A second theoretical contribution speaks to the literature on the impact of Europeanization on political competition. Peter Mair's 2000 article "*The Limited Impact of Europeanization on National Party Systems*" argues that Europeanization has a very limited impact on party systems, both in terms of its format and mechanics.⁴⁶⁸ The present thesis reinforces this statement by suggesting that the European issue is fought along pre-existing lines of competition. However, the analysis of European attitudes, party values and competitive behaviour suggests that, despite the preponderance of political values, the three elements interact, i.e., that the centripetal and ideological transformation of left-wing parties

⁴⁶⁷ Schickler, E. (2001), Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Stark, D. and Bruszt, L. (1998), Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁶⁸ Mair, P. (2000), "The Limited Impact of Europeanisation on National Party Systems", West European Politics, 23(4): 27-51.

towards Europhilism was facilitated due to the compatibility of their aims with European values and policies. This effect is more accentuated in party systems like the Polish, where Europeanization and the formation of the party systems have been taking place simultaneously. The coincidence of the processes of European accession and transition to democracy in Central and Eastern Europe reinforces the relationship between Europhilism and the formation of the centre of the party system, posing a constraint on the type of viable identities. The most obvious effect and the one most accounted for in this thesis is the difficult relationship between nationalism and a centrist position.

The transformation of the ex-communist SLD provides an example of the interaction between the creation of an identity and European positions. The SLD's conversion to social democracy resulted in a Hard Europhile stance reinforcing the party's centripetal drive. The need to gain internal and external legitimacy has led the ex-communists to condition their transformation to ensure compatibility with the values driving European integration. This led to a specific operationalisation of the concept of social justice that resembled the outcomes achieved by some of the West European social democratic parties. The openness of the Polish ex-communists to the adoption of the principles of European social democracy was facilitated by the strong political cosmopolitanism inherited from communist ideology.

Contribution to the literature on Central and Eastern European party formation

The third debate to which this thesis contributes to is on whether parties' programmatic choices are the main structuring element of political competition in Central and Eastern Europe. The introductory chapter of this thesis depicts the two notions of parties from which the two sets of hypotheses tested in this thesis are devised. The test in the Polish case of a theory arguing that a party's core identity provides the long-term anchorage for the

party's subsequent programmatic choices supports those authors that claim value commitments to structure political competition against those who argue that catch-all vote-seeking considerations determine the structuration of party competition.⁴⁶⁹

Authors claiming that vote-seeking concerns predominate over value-driven considerations argue that the predominant party form is a sort of catch-all party with a very light ideological baggage; parties of this nature are successful in catching the centre position and achieving office without committing to any form of value-based policies. Party formation is a function not of ideological differences "but rather the consequence of fierce battles over party leadership, personal aversions among party leaders, and an intolerance of minority opinions within the party".⁴⁷⁰ Political competition in Central and Eastern Europe is therefore shaped mainly by rational vote-seeking actors.

However, the testing of synergies and antagonisms of ethos and competitive strategies conducted in this thesis contradicts this notion and links with Gabor Tóka's analysis of the factors working for the permanence of party-voters linkages in Central and Eastern Europe. Tóka states that political identities are not only important for the creation and maintenance of parties. The author also demonstrates that parties' ideological discourses contribute to the forging of party-voter loyalties. Formalising and testing hypotheses current in the literature,⁴⁷¹ Tóka's analysis concludes that parties' value-based stances provide for a

⁴⁶⁹ Innes, A. (2002), "Party Competition in Postcommunist Europe: The Great Electoral Lottery", Comparative Politics, 35(1): 85-104; Olson, D. (1998), "Political Formation and Party System Consolidation in the New Democracies of Central Europe", Political Studies, 46(3): 432-464, p.445; Tóka, G. (1998), "Party Appeals and Voter Loyalties in New Democracies", Political Studies, 46(3): 589-610; Evans, G. and Whitefield, S. (1995), "The Politics and Economics of Democratic Commitment: Support for Democracy in Transition Societies", British Journal of Political Science, 25(4): 485-514, Kitschelt, H. et al. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation and Inter-Party Cooperation, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 457.

⁴⁷⁰ Kostelecky, T. (2002), Political Parties After Communism, Developments in East-Central Europe, Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, p.175.

⁴⁷¹ Evans, G. and Whitefield, S. (1995), "The Politics and Economics of Democratic Commitment: Support for Democracy in Transition Societies", British Journal of Political Science, 25(4): 485-514, Kitschelt, H. et.al. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation and Inter-Party Cooperation, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 457.

stable affinity between political elites and voters. Political discourses are then crucial in providing the closeness of class relations and voters' choices. "Value preferences seem to provide for relatively more solid, stable basis for enduring partisan attachments.(...) In the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, voters' willingness to stay with party preferences over time is a function of their 'value voting' along such dimensions as religious-secular, left-right, and nationalism-anti-nationalism." ⁴⁷² Clear and sharp value-based choices are the main factor entrenching voters' choices in Central and Eastern European countries. An empirical-based study by Markowski reinforces this finding, concluding that voters' values and political orientations, rather than pure socio-economic variables, are the best predictors of positioning within the left-right political spectrum. ⁴⁷³

Conclusion

The analysis of the Polish party system shows the repeated failure of right-wing political leaders to create a stable centrist party that integrates nationalist formations. The proliferation of Eurosceptic parties on the right of the system is therefore the result of the failure to create a united party around a Christian democratic identity. Even when in government, nationalist parties or factions continued to oppose European integration. This tendency was persistent in right-wing governments, during the 1991-1993 and the 1997-2001 parliaments. Although the need to be competitive at the governmental level may lead parties to try not to oppose European integration openly, nationalists within government coalitions or parties are uneasy and rebel against this solution. Therefore, even if Polish right-wing coalitions attempted to formulate positions in a way that attempted to obscure contradictions,

⁴⁷² Tóka, G. (1998), "Party Appeals and Voter Loyalties in New Democracies", *Political Studies*, 46(3): 589-610; Tóka's analysis makes tests the premises for the seminal study by Kitschelt et. al (1999), op. cit.

for example by portraying European integration as an enterprise of Christian nations, in the medium and long-term, divergences among liberals and nationalists were magnified by the necessity to devise concrete positions on European accession. The splitting of the centre-right, facilitated by the European issue, freed the space for the victory of the Eurosceptic nationalist right.

A further contribution of this thesis concerns the link between the dominant identitary discourse of parties and the contestation of European integration within a political system. Political opposition to European integration leads to the debate on Europe being fought along the axis on less versus more Europe, rather than what should Europe do.⁴⁷⁴ In Poland the European debate and the positions taken by its governments in negotiations with their European counterparts, reflects the salience of sovereignty issues. This is visible in the emphasis placed on the government's negotiating stances on issues such as land acquisition by foreigners, declarations of sovereignty on issues of morality and references to the need for a return to fundamental values and European spiritual traditions, and the strident opposition to altering the voting formula in the Council of Ministers accepted in Nice. All this suggests that the European question is framed as a political issue and party responses depend on their definition of the political community.

The reluctance of the Polish to compromise on the issue of voting rights once it had been decided at the Nice Intergovernmental Conference is a manifestation of European integration being taken hostage by nationalism. The Nice voting formula is regarded by Polish political elites as limiting the loss of sovereignty inflicted by accession, and the political class was unanimous in its support for the government's position. The voting formula gained in the Nice Treaty was regarded as an assurance that integration remains partially in the hands of

⁴⁷³ Markowski, R. (1997), "Political Parties and Ideological Spaces in East Central Europe", *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 30(3): 221-254.

⁴⁷⁴ Katz, R. (1999), "Multi-level Party Systems: Europeanisation and the Reshaping of National Political Representation", Conference Paper Between Europe and the Nation State: the Reshaping of Interests, Identities and Political Representation, European University Institute, Florence.

the Polish nation. Reluctance to shed sovereignty is natural in a country of the size and history of Poland; on the other hand, the submission of the three cosmopolitan ideologies which surfaced in the Round Table negotiations in 1989, Catholicism, political liberalism and class cosmopolitanism, to an essential nationalist stance, should be explained by the process of party formation. The success in creating a centre-left social democratic party is not matched by a similar outcome on the centre-right. On the contrary, the centre-right formations running for the 2001 elections abandoned the Christian democratic ethos for a liberal conservative type of party. Even if this process succeeds it can still be expected that Polish participation in European integration would continue to be marked by its troubled past. The Polish case also alludes to the effects that the rise of parties with a national ethos is likely to bring to the process of political and economic integration across the whole continent.

List of Abbreviations

AWS	Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność	Electoral Action Solidarity
CAP		Common Agriculture Policy
EU		European Union
EEC		European Economic Communities
FIDESZ	Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége	Alliance of Young Democrats
FKGP	Független Kisgazda- Földmunkás-és Polgári Párt	Independent Smallholders Party
FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs	Austrian Freedom Party
KDR	Koalicja dla Rzeczypospolita	Coalition for the Republic
KLD	Kongres Liberalno Demokratyczny	Liberal Democratic Congress
KPN	Konfederacja Polski Niepodległej	Confederation of Independent Poland
LPR	Liga Polskie Rodzina	League of Polish Families
ODS	Občanské Demokratická Strana	Civic Democratic Forum
ÖVP	Österreichische Volks Partei	Austrian Christian Democratic Party
PC	Porozumienie Centrum	Center Alliance
PHARE		Poland and Hungary Aid for Reconstruction in Europe
PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	Law and Justice
PO	Platforma Obywatelskie	Citizen's Platform
PP	Porozumienie Polskie	Polish Agreement

PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	Polish Peasant Party
ROP	Ruch Odbudowy Polskie	Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland
RPR	Rassemblement Pour la République	Movement for the Republic
Samoobrona	Samoobrona	Self-Defence
SdRP	Socjaldemokracja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej	Social Democracy of the Polish Republic
SEA		Single European Act
SKL	Stronnictwo Konservativno- Ludowe	Popular Konservative Party
SLD	Soyusz Lewice Demokratycznie	Democratic Left Alliance
SZDSZ	Szabad Demokraták Szövetségé	Alliance of Free Democrats
UD	Unia Demokratycznie	Democratic Union
UDF	Union pour la Démocratie Française	French Union for Democracy
UP	Unia Pracy	Labour Union
UKIE	Urząd Komitet Integracja Europejska	Cabinet of the Minister of European Integration
UW	Unia Wolności	Freedom Union
ZChN	Zjednoczenie Chrześcijańsko-Narodowe	Christian National Union

Bibliography

Interviews

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, former Prime Minister, October 2000

Herman Bunz, Head of Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Warsaw, January 2002

Mariusz Dąca, UKIE's official in charge of relations with the Polish Sejm in issues of law harmonization, June 2002

Ewa Freiberga, SLD's MP, November 2000

Roland Freudenstein, Head of Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Warsaw, June 2000

Tadeusz Iwinski, SLD's international secretary, August 2000

Tomasz Jackowski, centre-right politician, June 2001

Leszek Jesień, member of the Polish negotiating team, June 2000

Mariusz Kamiński, ZChN's MP, July 2000

Maciej Łętowski, right-wing publicist, March 2001

Alan Mayhew, advisor to the Polish government on issues of European integration, June 2000

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, first post-communist Prime Minister, July 2001

Zdzisław Najder, AWS's advisor for Foreign Policy and Author, June 2000

Josef Niemec, Solidarity trade union leader, June 2001

Piotr Nowina-Konopka, UW's MP and UKIE's Under-Secretary of State, November 2000

Andrzej Potocki, UD and UW's MP and Spokesperson, July 2002

Paweł Świoboda, advisor to President Kwaśniewski on European Affairs, July 2000

Krzysztof Szamalek, advisor of President Kwaśniewski, October 2000

Adam Szostkiewicz, spokesperson for Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Polityka Journalist, November 2000

Paweł Wronski, journalist of Gazeta Wyborcza, July 2003.

Party Documents

Electoral Action Solidarity (AWS)

AWS Program Wyborczy (AWS 1997 Election Program), Warsaw: April 1997

Program Akcji Wyborczej Solidarność, (Electoral Program of the AWS), Warsaw: May 1997

PC-AWS Chrześcijańska Demokracja-Stronnictwo Pracy Umowa Polityczna w Sprawie Zjednoczenia Polskiej Chrześcijańskiej Demokracji (Political Agreement on the Unity of Polish Christian Democracy between PC and AWS), 24 May 1998, Warsaw: 1998

Uchwała Rady Politycznej RS AWS dot. Konfliktu na Balkanach, (Decision of the Political Council of the RS AWS concerning the Conflict on the Balkans), April 1999, Warsaw: 1999

Deklaracja Ideowo-Programowa Ruchu Społecznego AWS, (Ideological-Programmatic Declaration of the Social Movement AWS) Warsaw: 1999

Programowe Wystąpienie na Konwencji Wyborczej AWS Mariana Krzaklewskiego – Kandydata na Prezydenta RP, (Programmatic Speech on the AWS's Electoral Convention of Marian Krzaklewski), Warsaw: 2000

Coalition for the Republic (KDR)

Koalicja dla Rzeczypospolitej, Materiały Wyborcze, (Coalition for the Republic, Electoral Material), Warsaw: June 1993

Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN)

Deklaracja Ideowa, (Ideological Declaration), 1989

Podstawowe Punkty Programu Społeczno-Gospodarczego, (Main Socio-Economic Programmatic Points) Warsaw: 1993

League of Polish Families (LPR)

Polsce - Niepodległość, Polakom – Praca, Chleb, Mieszkania, (Poland - Independent, Poles -Work, Bread and Housing), Warsaw: 2001

Centre Agreement (PC)

Deklaracja Porozumienia Centrum, (Declaration of Centre Agreement), Warsaw: May 1990

Deklaracja Programowa, (Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: 1991

Porozumienie Centrum-Zjednoczenie Polskie, Program Wyborczy, (Electoral Program), Warsaw: 1993

Citizens Platform (PO)

Program, 2001 Rok, (Programme, Year 2001), Warsaw: 2001

Polish Agreement (PP)

Program Wyborczy kandydata na Prezydenta RP Jana Łopuszanskiego,
Wybieram Niepodległa Polske, (Electoral Programme of the Candidate to the Polish Presidency, Jan Łopuszanski, We Choose an Independent Poland), 23 July 2000, Warsaw: 2000

Citizens Platform (PO)

Program, 2001 Rok, (Programme, Year 2001), Warsaw: 2001

Polish Peasant Party (PSL)

Projekt Program PSL, (Project of Programme), 27 November 1987, Warsaw:
1997

Program Polityczny i Społeczno-Gospodarczy, (Political and Socio-Economic Programme), October 1990, Warsaw 1990

Jakiej Chcemy Polskę, (How We Want Poland), Warsaw: 1991

O Kształtowanie Szans Rozwoju dla Polski, Dokumenty Programowe, (Shaping the Chances of Polish Development, Programmatic Documents of the PSL), Warsaw: 1993

Chronić Rolnictwo w Procesie Integracji z Unią Europejską, Dążmy do Zapewnienia Perspektywy Rozwoju Wsi i Rolnictwa, (Protecting Farmers in the Process of Integration to the European Union, We Restore Assurance of Perspective of Development of Villages and Agriculture), Warsaw: 1993

Żyć, Bronić, Gospodarować, Dokumenty Programowe PSL, (Feeding, Defending, Farming, Programmatic Documents of the PSL), Warsaw: 1993

PSL Wobec Najważniejszych Problemów Społeczno-Gospodarczych Kraju, (The PSL Facing the Most Important Political and Economic Problems of the Country), Warsaw: November 1996

V Kongres PSL, Dokumenty Programowe, (V Congress of the PSL, Programmatic Documents) Warsaw: June 1997

Przesłanki i Generalne Programu Społeczno-Gospodarczego PSL, (Premises and General Features of the PSL's Socio-Economic Programme), Warsaw: 1997

Dążymy do Zapewnienia Perspektyw Rozwoju Wsi i Rolnictwa, (We Aspire to Assure the Perspectives of Development of Villages and Agriculture), Warsaw: 1997

VI Kongres Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowe, Dokumenty Programowe, (VI Congress of the PSL, Programmatic Documents), Warsaw: November 1998

Udział Społeczeństwa Polskiego w Procesie Integracji z Unią Europejską, Narodowe Forum Integracji Europejskiej, (Participation of the Polish Society on the Process of Integration with the European Union, National Forum for European Integration), Warsaw: June 1998

Stanowisko VI Kongresu PSL Sprawie: Integracji Polski z Unia Europejska,
(Position of the VI Congress on the Issues of Polish Integration with the European Union), 21
November 1998, Warsaw: 1998

Stanowisko PSL Wobec Ataków NATO na Jugosławie, (Position of the PSL
Regarding the Attack of NATO to Yugoslavia), Warsaw: April 1999

Wobec Wyzwan Jakie Przed Polska Stawia XXI Wiek, (On the Challenges that
Poland Faces in the XXI Century), Warsaw: March 2000

Deklaracja Programowa Jarosława Kalinowskiego Kandydata na Prezydenta RP,
(Programmatic Declaration of Jarosław Kalinowski, Candidate for the Polish Republic
Presidency), Warsaw: August 2000

Chronić Rolnictwo w Procesie Integracja, (Protecting the Farmers in the Process
of Integration), Warsaw: 2001

VII Kongres Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego Dokumenty Programowy, (VII
Congress of the PSL, Programatic Documents), Warsaw: March 2000

Czas na Zmiane, Program Społeczno Gospodarcze PSL, (Time for a Change,
PSL's Socio-Economic Programme) Warsaw: 2001

Law and Justice (PiS)

Program Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, (Programme of Law and Justice), Warsaw:
August 2001

Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland (ROP)

Program Naprawy Państwa, Jan Olszewski, Naszym Prezydentem, (Programme
to Repair the Nation, Jan Olszewski, Our President), Warsaw: 1995

Umowa z Polską (Agreement with Poland), 3 May 1996, Warsaw: 1996

Umowa z Polską Wsią i Rolnictwem, 3 May 1996, Warsaw: 1996

Sytuacja Polskiego Rolnictwa, (Situation of Polish Agriculture), 3 May 1996,
Warsaw: 1996

Karta Niepodległości, (Independence Charter), November 1996, Warsaw: 1996

Założenia Programowe Społeczno-Gospodarcze Odbudowy Kraju, (Socio-Economic Programme for the Reconstruction of the Country), Warsaw: November 1996

Polska Polityka Obronna a NATO, (Polish Security Politics and NATO), Biuletyn ROP, 5 November 1998, Warsaw: 1998

Uchwała II Kongresie ROP, (Decisions of the ROP's III Congress), Warsaw: April 1998

Uchwała w sprawie ataku NATO na Jugosławię, (Decision concerning NATO's attack to Yugoslavia), 5 May 1999, Warsaw: 1999

Polski Dekalog 2000 (Polish Decalogue 2000), Warsaw: May 1999

Wystąpienie Posła Jana Olszewskiego w Debacie nad Informacją Rządu o Podstawowych Kierunkach Polityki Zagranicznej Polski, (Reaction of the MP Jan Olszewski on the Debate launched by the Government's Information on the Development of Polish Foreign Policy) Biuletyn ROP, 8, Warsaw: 1999

Samoobrona

Może, a Wiec Muszi Być Lepiej, Samoobronę Programy Narodowej, (It Can, and it Must Get Better, the Samoobrona's National Programme), Warsaw: 1992

Materiały Programowe, (Programatic Material), Warsaw: March 1993

Wyraz Troski Obywatelskiej, Letter to J. Zych, (Expression of the Anxiety of the Citizens), Warsaw: July 1995

Drodzy Rosyjscy Przyjaciele, (Dear Russian Friends!), 15 May 2000, Warsaw-Moscow: 2000

Trzecia Droga, Polityka Bezpieczeństwa RP Jesteśmy w Europie, Program Wyborczy Kandydata Prezydenta RP Andrzeja Leppera, (Third Way, Security Policy, We Are in Europe, Presidential Programme of Candidate Andrzej Lepper), Warsaw: 2000

Stanowisko w Sprawie Przystąpienia Polski do Unii Europejskiej, (Position on the Issues of Accession of Poland to the European Union), Warsaw: September 2000

Stanowisko w Sprawie Przystąpienia Polski do Unii Europejskiej, (Position on the Issue of the Accession of Poland to the European Union), Warsaw: August 2000

Programy Samoobrony Wybory Parlymentary, (The Samoobrona's Programme for the Parliamentary Elections), Warsaw: 2001

Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP) and (from 1998) Democratic Left Alliance (SLD)

Tezy Deklaracji Programowej, XVI Plenum Komitetu Centralnego PZPR, (Thesis of the Programmatic Declaration, XVI Plenarium of the Central Committee of the PZPR), Warsaw: November 1989

Deklaracja SdRP - Uchwalona na Kongresie Założycielskim, (Declaration of the SdRP taken on the Founding Congress, 28 January 1990, Warsaw: 1990

Stanowiska Kongresu Założycielski SdRP, w Sprawie Sytuacji Międzynarodowej, Polityki Zagranicznej i Współpracy z Siłami Lewicy na świecie, (Position of the SdRP Founding Congress on the International Situation, Foreign Policy and Cooperation with Left-Wing Forces in the World), 28 January 1990, Warsaw: 1990

Program Społeczno-Gospodarcze, Vademecum Socjaldemokraty, (Social Economic Programme), Warsaw: February 1990

Stanowisko Platformy Ludzi Pracy SdRP, (Position of the Platforma of Working People of the SdRP), 19 March 1990, Warsaw: 1990

Polska Postępu, Prawa i Demokracji, Program Społeczno-Gospodarczy, (Poland of Progress, Rights and Democracy, Socio-Economic Programme), Warsaw: May 1991

Dokumenty Programowe 1990-91, (Programmatic Documents 1990-1991), Warsaw: 1991

Socjaldemokratyczna Alternatywa: Polska Demokratyczna, Sprawiedliwa, Bezpieczna, (The Social Democratic Alternative: a Democratic, Just, Safe Poland) Biuletyn Wewnątrzpartyjny, 6, Warsaw: 1993

Jakie Państwo?, Materiały Wyborcze, (Which State? Electoral Material). Warsaw: 1993.

Socjaldemokratyczny Program dla Polski, Przed II Kongresem SdRP, (Social Democratic Programme for Poland before the Second Congress of the SdRP), Warsaw: 1993

Nasz Program Dla Polski, Project (Project, Our Programme for Poland), Warsaw: March 1993

Socjaldemokracja RP Wobec Nowych Zadan, Rada Naczelna Socjaldemokracji Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, (The New Tasks of the SdRP, Head Council), Warsaw: December 1993

Uchwała III Krajowej Konwencji w Sprawie Członkostwa SdRP w Międzynarodówce Socjalistycznej, (Decision of the III National Convention on the Membership of the Socialist International) Biuletyn Informacyjny, Warsaw: August 1994

Koalicja SLD-PSL -dorobek, problemy, wnioski, (Coalition of the SLD and the PSL) Warsaw: September 1994

Nowe Szanse: SdRP w Międzynarodówce Socjalistycznej, Rozmowa z Profesorem Tadeusz Iwinski, (New Chances: the SdRP in the Socialist International, Interview with Professor Tadeusz Iwinski) Biuletyn Informacyjny, Warsaw: 1995.

Jarosińska, M., "Europa Ojczyzn a Patriotyzm Nowych Czasów", (Europe of Fatherlands or the Patriotism of the New Times", Biuletyn Informacyjny, Warsaw: 1996

Socjalisci Europejscy a Integracja Kontynentu, (European Socialists and the Integration of the Continent), Biuletyn Informacyjny, 6, Warsaw: 1996

Iwiński, T., "Na XX Kongresie w Nowym Jorku, SdRP Pełnym Członkiem Międzynarodówki Socjalistycznej", (On the XX Congress in New York, the SdRP a Full Member of the Socialist International), Biuletyn Informacyjny, 10, Warsaw: 1996

Nasz Program dla Polski: Trzy Lata Pracy Parlamentarnej, (Our Programme for Poland: Three Years of Parliamentary Activity), Warsaw: 1996.

Polska Socjaldemokracja a Europa, Uchwała III Kongresu SdRP, Polska a Integracja Europejska, (Social Democracy and Europe, Decision of the III Congress of the SdRP, Poland and European Integration), December 1997, Warsaw: 1997

Narodowa Strategia Integracji, (National Strategy for Integration), Biuletyn Informacyjny, Warsaw: December 1997

Trzeci Kongres Partii Socjalistów Europejskich, Deklaracja z Malmo, (Third Congress of the Party of European Socialists, Malmo Declaration), Biuletyn Informacyjny, Warsaw: 1997

Material do Dyskusji o Programie SDL, Polska u Progu XXI Wieku, Material Przyjety Przez Tymczasowa Rade Krajowa SLD, (Material for Discussion regarding the SLD Programme, Poland on the Verge of the XXI Century, Material Prepared by the Interim National Council of the SLD), 7 October 1999, Warsaw: 1997

Socjaldemokracja Wobec Przemian Współczesności: Jednostka, Polska, Europa, Deklaracja III Kongresu SdRP, (Social Democracy Facing Contemporary Changes: Poland, Europe - Declaration of the III Congress of the SdRP), Warsaw: December 1997

Program SLD, Przyjety na III Kongresie SdRP (Third Congress of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, Programmatic Documents, 6-7 December 1997, Warsaw: 1997.

Socjaldemokrati Chca Przewodzic Procesowi Rozszerzenia Unii Europejskiej, Szczyt Lewicy Europejskiej w Londynie, (The Social Democrats Want to Lead the Process of Enlargement of the European Union, Summit of the European Left in London), Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny, 5 (11), April 1998

List do Presidenta Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki, William Clintona, (Letter to the President of the United States of America, William Clinton), Warsaw: April 1999

Komunikat SLD w Związku z Wystąpieniem Premiera Jerzego Buzka w Debacie na temat Narodowego Programu Przygotowania do Członkostwa w Unii Europejskiej, (The SLD Communiqué on the Statement of Jerzy Buzek on the Debate on the National Programme for Preparation for the Membership of the European Union), Warsaw: February 2000

Stanowisko Zarządu Krajowego Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej w Sprawie Integracji Polski z Unia Europejska, (Position of the National Council of the SLD on Polish Integration in the European Union), 14 July 2000, Warsaw: 2000

Przywróćmy Normalność, Wygramy Przyszłość. Program Wyborczy Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej i Unii Pracy (We Restore Normality, We Win the Future, Programme of the SLD and the UP), Warsaw: 2001

Conservative People's Party (SKL)

Program Stronnictwa Konservatywno-Ludowego, (Programme of the Conservative People's Party), Warsaw: January 1997

Jakiej Polski Chcemy: Deklaracja Ideowa Stronnictwa Konservatywno-Ludowego, (How We Want Poland: Ideological Declaration of the National Conservative Party), Warsaw: 1998

Uchwały II Kongresu SKL, (Decisions of the II Congress SKL), 27 September 1998, Warsaw: 1998

Uchwała Kongresu Nadzwyczajnego w Sprawie Przystąpienia do Unii Europejskiej, (Decision of the Extraordinary Congress on the Issues of Accession to the European Union), Warsaw: 1998

W Sprawie Stanu Negocjacji o Wejściu Polski do Unii Europejskiej, (On the Issue of the State of Negotiations on the Entry of Poland to the EU), 10 July 2000, Warsaw: 2000

ROAD/Democratic Union (UD)

Deklaracja Założycielka ROAD, Stabilizacja i Rozwój, (Founding Declaration ROAD, Stabilisation and Development), Warsaw: June 1990

Uchwała Programowa Unia Demokratyczna, (Programmatic Decision of Democratic Union), Warsaw: 1991

Z Programu Unii Demokratycznej, (With the Programme of Democratic Union), Warsaw: 1991

Uchwała Programowa II Kongresu Krajowego Unii Demokratycznej, Broszura Wyborcza Unii Demokratycznej, (Programmatic Decision of the II National Congress of the Democratic Union, Electoral Brochure of Democratic Union), Warsaw: 1993

Stabilizacja I Rozwój, Uchwała Programowa II Kongresu Krajowego Unii Demokratycznej, (Stabilisation and Development, Programmatic Decision of the II National Congress of Democratic Union), Warsaw: 1993

Labor Union (UP)

Deklaracja Założycielska, (Founding Declaration), Warsaw: 1992

Broszura Wyborcza Unii Pracy, (Electoral Brochure of Union of Labor) Warsaw:
1993

Przywróćmy Nadzieję, Dokumenty Programowy Unii Pracy (We Restore Hope,
Programmatic Document Union of Labor), Warsaw: 1993

Polska Równe Szansa, (Poland of Equal Chances), Warsaw: 1995

U Progu XXI Wieku, Program, (On the XXI Century), Warsaw: 1996

V Dokumenty Programowe, (V Programmatic Documents), Warsaw: June 1997.

Uchwała Rady Krajowej Unii Pracy w Sprawie Wojny w Jugosławii, Rada Krajowa
Unii Pracy, (Decision of the National Council regarding the War in Yugoslavia), Warsaw: May
1999.

Freedom Union (UW)

Deklaracja Założycielka Unia Wolności, (Founding Congress Documents),
Warsaw: 1995

Porozumienie Dla Polski Wschodniej, (Agreement for Eastern Poland), Warsaw:
1998

Oświadczenie Zarządu Unii Wolności, (Declaration of the Freedom Union
Council), Warsaw: April 1999

Christian National Union (ZChN)

Deklaracja Programowa, (Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: 1989

Program Wyborczy Zjednoczenia Chrześcijańsko-Narodowego, (Electoral
Programme of the Christian National Union), Warsaw: 1993

Zjednoczenie Chrzescijanski Narodowe, Memorandum do Przewodniczacego Akcji Wyborczej "Solidarność" Pana Mariana Krzaklewskiego, (The ZChN's Memorandum to the President of the AWS, Marian Krzaklewski), Warsaw: November 1998.

Deklaracja Programowa ZChN, (Programmatic Declaration of the ZChN), Warsaw: May 2000.

Newspapers and News Services

Gazeta Wyborcza (1989-)

Polityka (1957-)

Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych

Rzeczpospolita (1990-)

RFE/RL Newservice (1974-)

Trybuna (1990-)

Tygodnik Solidarność (1981-)

Wprost (1992-)

Books, Book Chapters, Journal Articles, Conference Papers and Working Papers

Arthur, W. (1994), Increasing Returns and Path Dependence in the Economy,
Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Bailey, D. and de Proppis, L. (2004), "A Bridge Too PHARE? EU Pre-Accession
Aid and Capacity-Building in the Candidate States", Journal of Common Market Studies,
42(1): 77-98

Baker, D. Gamble, A. and Ludlam, S. (1994), "The Parliamentary Siege of
Maastricht 1993: Conservative Divisions and British Ratification", Parliamentary Affairs, 47(1):
37-60

Bates, R. et al. (1998), Analytic Narratives, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University
Press.

Batory, A. (2002), "Europe and the Hungarian Parliamentary Elections of April
2002", RIIA/OERN Election Briefing Paper, 1

Batory, A. (2002), "Attitudes to Europe, Ideology, Strategy and the issue of
European Union membership in Hungarian Party Politics", Party Politics, 8(5): 525-540

Bartolini, S. and Mair, P. (1990), Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability:
the Stabilisation of European Electorates, 1885-1985, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University
Press

Bartolini, S. (1999), "Collusion, Competition and Democracy, Part I", Journal of
Theoretical Politics, 11(4): 435-470

Bartolini, S. (2000), "Collusion, Competition and Democracy, Part II", Journal of
Theoretical Politics, 12(1): 33-65

Bartolini, S. (2000), The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980:
the Class Cleavage, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Becker, W. (1997), "The Emergence and Development of Christian Democratic Parties in Western Europe", in Lamberts, E. (ed), Christian Democracy in the European Union, Proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium 1995, Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Beyme, K. V. (1985). Political Parties in Western Democracies. Aldershot: Gower.

Bielecki, J. (1992), "The Dilemma of Political Interests in the Post Communist Transition" in Connor, W. and Płoszajski, (eds.), Escape from Socialism: the Polish Route, IFiS Publishers, Warsaw

Boia, L. (1993), Mythologie Scientifique du Communisme, Caen-Orleans: Paradigme

Boix, C. (1998), Political Parties. Growth and Equality, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Borzel, T. and Risse, T. (2000), "Who is afraid of a European Federation? How to Constitutionalize a Multi-Level Governance System?" in Joerges, C. Meny, and Weiler, J.H. (eds.) What Kind of Constitution for What Kind of Polity? Responses to Joschka Fisher, Florence: European University Institute

Boudon, R. (1982), The Unintended Consequences of Social Action, London: Macmillan.

Bozóki, A. (1997), "The Ideology of Modernization and the Policy of Materialism: the Day After for the Socialists", Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 13(3): 56-102.

Budge, I. et al. (1986), "Policy, Ideology and Party Distance: Analysis of Election Programs in 19 Democracies", Legislative Studies Quarterly, 11(4): 607-617.

Budge, I. Robertson, D. and Hearl, D. (eds.), (1987), Ideology, Strategy and Party Change: Spatial Analysis of Post-War Election Programmes in 19 Democracies, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Budge, I. (2001), Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments, 1945-1998, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burchell, J. (2002), The Evolution of Green Politics: Development and Change Within European Green Parties, London: Earthscan.

Capocchia, G. (2002), "Anti-System Parties: a Conceptual Reassessment", Journal of Theoretical Politics, 14(1): 9-36.

Caporaso, J. (2000), "Changes in the Westphalian order: Territory, Public Authority and Sovereignty", International Studies Review, 2(2): 1-28.

CBOS, "Społeczne Ocena Działalność Instytucji Polityczny", (Social Evaluation of the Conducting of Political Institutions), Komunikat z Badań, Warsaw: October 1990

CBOS, "Instytucje Publiczne w Opinii Społecznej", (The Public Opinion on the Public Institutions), Komunikat z Badań, Warsaw: November 1994

CBOS, "Stosunek do Integracji Polski z Unią Europejską po Ogłoszeniu Nowego Stanowiska Negocjacyjnego", (Situation of the Integration of Poland with the European Union after the Announcement of the New Negotiations Positions), CBOS Komunikat z Badań, October 2002

CBOS, "Opinie o Integracji z Unią Europejską", (Opinion on the Integration of Poland with the European Union), CBOS Komunikat z Badań, November 2001

CBOS, "Opinie o Integracji w Przeddzień Rozszerzenia Unii Europejskiej", (Opinion on Integration in the Last Days Before the Enlargement of the European Union), CBOS Komunikat z Badań, May 2004

Castles, F. and Mair, P. (1984), "Left-Right Scales: Some Expert Judgements", European Journal of Political Research, 12(1): 73-88.

Conti, N. (2003), "Party Attitudes to European Integration: A Longitudinal Analysis of the Italian Case", EPERN Working Paper, 13

Cox, G. (1997), Making Votes Count, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Christensen, D. (1996), "The Left-Wing Opposition in Denmark, Norway and Sweden: Cases of Europhobia", West European Politics, 19(2): 525-546.

Daalder, H. (1984), "In Search of the Center of European Party Systems", American Political Science Review, 78(1): 92-109

Dahl, R. (ed.), (1966), Political Oppositions in Western Democracies, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

Daniels, P. (1998), "From Hostility to 'Constructive Engagement': the Europeanisation of the Labour Party", West European Politics, 21(1): 72-96

Day, S. (2000), "From Social Democracy of the Polish Republic to Polish Left Alliance", in Kubiak, H. and Wiatr, J. Between Animosity and Utility. Political Parties and their Matrix, Warsaw: Scholar

Denzau, A. and North, D. (1994). "Shared Mental Models: Ideologies and Institutions", Kyklos, 47(1)

Dmowski, R. (1953), Myśli Nowoczesnego Polaka (Thoughts of a Modern Pole), London: Koło Młodych Stronnictwa Narodowego.

Downs, A. (1957), An Economic Theory of Democracy, New York: Harper and Row

Drucker, H. (1979), Doctrine and Ethos in the Labour Party, London: Allen and Unwin

Dziewanowski, M. (1996), "Polish Populism", Held, J. (ed.), Populism in Eastern Europe: Racism. Nationalism and Society, London: Boulder

Evans, G. and Whitefield, S. (1995), "The Politics and Economics of Democratic Commitment: Support for Democracy in Transition Societies", British Journal of Political Science, 25(4): 485-514

Fieschi, C. Shields, J. and Woods, R. (1996), "Extreme Right-Wing Parties and the European Union" in Gaffney, J. Political Parties and the European Union. London: Routledge.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001), Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Enquiry Fails and How it can Count Again, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Frieden, J. and Rogowski, R. (1996), "The Impact of International Economy on National Policies: an Analytical Overview" in Keohane, R.O. and Milner, H. (eds.) Internationalization and Domestic Politics, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Fukuyama, F. (1992), The End of History and the Last Man, London: Penguin Books

Gabel, M. (1998), Interests and Integration: Market Liberalisation, Public Opinion and European Union, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Gallagher, M. Laver, M. and Mair, P. (1992), Representative Government in Modern Europe, New York: McGraw-Hill

Garrett, G. (1996), "Capital Mobility, Trade and Domestic Politics", in Keohane, R. and Milner, H. (eds.), Internationalization and Domestic Politics, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Giraud, R. (1986), Mythes et Mythologies Politiques, Paris: Editions du Seuil

Girvin, B. (1998), "The Transformation of Contemporary Conservatism" in Girvin, B. (ed.), The Transformation of Contemporary Conservatism, London: Sage

Grabbe, H. (2002), "European Union Conditionality and the Acquis Communautaire", International Political Science Review, 23(3): 249-268

Graniszewski, L. (1997), "Akcja Wyborcza Solidarnosc - Sojusz Prawicy Demokratycznej", in Geberthener, S. (red.), Wybory '97, Partie i Programy Wyborcze, Elipsa: Warsaw

Green-Pedersen, C. and Kersbergen, K. (2002), "The Politics of the Third Way: the Transformation of Social Democracy in Denmark and the Netherlands", Party Politics, 8(5): 507-524

Grzymała-Busse, A. (2001), Redeeming the Communist Past, The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Gunther, R. and Hopkin, J. (2002), "A Crisis of Institutionalization: The Collapse of the UCD in Spain" , in Gunther, R. et al. (eds.), Political Parties, Old Concepts and New Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hanley, D. (1994), "Introduction: Christian Democracy as a Political Phenomenon" in Hanley, D. (ed.), Christian Democracy in Europe: a Comparative Perspective, London: Pinter

Hanley, S. (2003), "The Czech EU Accession Referendum 13-14 June 2003", RIIA/OERN Research Paper, 6

Harmel, R. and Janda, K. (1994), "An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change" , Journal of Theoretical Politics, 6(3): 259-288

Harper, J. (1999), Continuity within Chaos. The Transformation of PZPR 1988-1991, Unpublished PhD thesis, LSE.

Hayward, T. (1994), Ecological Thought: An Introduction, Oxford: Polity Press

Hix, S. and Lord, C, (1997), Political Parties in the European Union, Basingstoke: Macmillan

Hix, S. (1999), "Dimensions and Alignments in European Union Politics: Cognitive Constraints and Partisan Responses", European Journal of Political Research, 35(1)

Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (1999), "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration", in Kitschelt, H. et al. Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (2001), Multi-Level Governance and European Integration, Boulder, CO: Rowan and Littlefield

Houska, J. (1985), Influencing Mass Political Behaviour: Elites and Political Sub-Cultures in the Netherlands and Austria, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies

Huber, J. and Inglehardt, R. (1995), "Expert Interpretation of Party Space and Party Locations in 42 Societies", Party Politics, 1(1): 73-111

Huber, E. Ragin, C. Stephens, J. (1993), "Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure and the Welfare State", American Journal of Sociology, 99(3): 711-749

Inglehart, R. (1977), The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Inglehart, R. (1990), Cultural Shift in Advanced Industrial Society, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Inglehart, R. and Rabier, J. (1986), "Political Realignment in Advanced Industrial Society: From Class Based Politics to Quality of Life Politics", Government and Opposition, 21(4): 456-479

Inglehart, R. (1995), "Expert Interpretation of Party Space and Party Locations in 42 Societies", Party Politics, 1(1): 73-111

Innes, A. (2002), "Party Competition in Postcommunist Europe: The Great Electoral Lottery", Comparative Politics, 35(1): 85-104

Janda, K. Harmel, R. Edens, C. and Goff, P. (1995), "Changes in Party Identity: Evidence from Party Manifestos", Party Politics, 1(2): 171-196

Jasiewicz, K. (1993), "Polish Politics on the Eve of the 1993 Elections", Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 26(4): 387-411

Kalyvas, S. (1996). The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press

Kaminski, M, Lissowski, G. and Swistak, P. (1998), "The Revival of Communism or the Effect of Institutions? The 1993 Polish Parliamentary Elections", Public Choice, 97(3): 429-449

Kaminski, M. (2001), "Coalitional Stability of Multi-Party Systems: Evidence from Poland", American Journal of Political Science, 45(2): 294-312

Kane, A. and Mann, M. (1992), "A Theory of Early Twentieth-Century Agrarian Politics", Social Science History, 16(3): 421-

Katz, R. (1999), "Multi-level Party Systems: Europeanisation and the Reshaping of National Political Representation", Conference Paper "Between Europe and the Nation State: the Reshaping of Interests, Identities and Political Representation", Florence: European University Institute

Katz, R. (2002), "The Internal Life of Parties" in Luther, K. and Muller-Rommel, F. Political Parties in the New Europe: Political and Analytical Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Kirchheimer, O. (1966), "The Catch-All Party" in LaPalombara, J. and Weiner, M. Political Parties and Political Development, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Kiss, C. (2003), "From Liberalism to Conservatism: The Federation of Young Democrats in Post- Communist Hungary", East European Politics and Societies, 16(3): 739-736

Kitschelt, H. and Hellemans, S. (1989), "The Left-Right Semantics and the New Politics Cleavage", Government and Opposition, 21(4): 141-

Kitschelt, H. (1989), "The Internal Politics of Parties: The Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited", Political Studies, 37(3): 400-421

Kitschelt, H. (1994), The Transformation of European Social Democracy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Kitschelt, H. (1995), "Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies: Theoretical Propositions", Party Politics, 1(4): 447-472

Kitschelt, H. Lange, P. and Stephens, J. (1999), "Convergence and Divergence in Advanced Capitalist Democracies", in Kitschelt, H. et al. (eds.), Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Kitschelt, H. et al. (1999), *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, Inter-Party Cooperation*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kitschelt, H. (2002), "The Strategic Conduct of Post-Communist Successor Parties", in Bozóki, A. and Ishiyama, J. (eds.), The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe, New York: Sharpe

Kopczynski, M. (2000), "The Formation of the Post-Solidarity Political Parties: The Case of the Freedom Union", in Kubiak, H. and Wiatr, J. Between Animosity and Utility, Political Parties and Their Matrix, Warsaw: Scholar

Kopecky, P. and Mudde, C. (2002), "The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe", European Union Politics, 3(3): 297-326

Kostecky, T. (2002), Political Parties After Communism: Developments in East-Central Europe, Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars

Kucharczyk, J. (1998), "Political Parties Towards Prospects for European Integration: 'Yes, and Furthermore No'", Warsaw: Instytut Spraw Publicznych

Janda, K. et al. (1995), "Changes in Party Identity: Evidence from Party Manifestos", Party Politics, 1(2): 171-196

Laitin, D. (1986), *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change Among the Yoruba*, Chicago: Chicago University Press

Lauber, V. (1988), "Change and Continuity in French Conservatism since 1944", in Girvin, B. The Transformation of Contemporary Conservatism, London: Sage

Laver, M. and Hunt, B. (1992), Policy and Party Competition, New York: Routledge

Lipset, S. and Rokkan, S. (1968), "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: an Introduction" in Lipset, M. and Rokkan, S. (eds.), Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross National Perspectives, New York: Free Press

Lugowska, U. (2001), "Parliamentary Elections in Poland 2001: What Next for Self Defence?", Labour Focus on Eastern Europe, 697

Luther, K. (1988), "The Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs: Protest Party or Governing Party?" in Kirchner, E. Liberal Parties in Western Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Luther, K. (2003), "The Self Destruction of a Right Wing Populist Party? The Austrian Parliamentary Election of 2002", West European Politics, 26(2): 136-152

Mair, P. (2000), "The Limited Impact of Europeanisation on National Party Systems", West European Politics, 23(4): 27-51

Majone, G. (1996), Regulating Europe, London: Routledge

Markowski, R. (1997), "Political Parties and Ideological Spaces in East Central Europe", Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 30(3): 221-254

Markowski, R. (2002), "The Polish SLD in the 1990s", in Ishiyama, J.T. and Bozóki, A. (eds.), The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe, New York: Sharpe

Markowski, R. et. al. (2003), "The New Polish 'Right'", Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Studies, 29(2): 1-23

Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30(3): 433-460

Marks, G. Hooghe, L. Wilson, C. (2002), "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", Comparative Political Studies, 35(8): 965-89:

Marks, G. and Steenbergen, M. (2002), "Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union", Comparative Political Studies, 35(8): 879-892

Mayhew, A. (1998), Recreating Europe: The European Union's Policy Towards Central and Eastern Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Meardi, G. (2002), "The Trojan Horse for the Americanization of Europe? Polish Industrial Relations Towards the EU", European Journal of Industrial Relations, 8(1): 77-100

Merkel, W. (2001), "Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation in East Central Europe", in Ágh, A. and Pridham, G. Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in East-Central Europe, Manchester: Manchester University Press

Michnik, A. (1990), "The Two Faces of Europe", New York Review of Books, 37(12).

Millard, F. (1992), "The Polish Parliamentary Elections of October 1991", Soviet Studies, 44(5): 837-855

Millard, F. (1994), "The Polish Parliamentary Election of September 1993", Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 27(3): 295-314

Millard, F. and Lewis, P. (2001), "The Development of Institutions in Post-Communist Poland", in Ágh, A. and Pridham, G. Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in East-Central Europe, Manchester: Manchester University Press:

Morris, P. (1996), "The British Conservative Party", in Gaffney, J. Political Parties and the European Union. London: Routledge.

Mudde, C. (2000), The Ideology of the Extreme Right, Manchester: Manchester University Press

Müller, W. and Strøm, K. (eds.), (1999), Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Müller, W. and Strøm, K. (eds.), (2000), Coalition Governance in Western Europe, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Nalewajko, E. (1997), Protopartie i Protosystem? Szkić do Obrazu Polskiej Wielopartyjności, (Proto Parties and Proto System? A Sketch of the Polish Multiparty System), Warsaw: ISP PAN

Olson, D. (1998), "Party Formation and Party System Consolidation in the New Democracies of Central Europe", Political Studies, 46(3): 432-464

Pakulski, J. (2001), "Class Paradigm and Politics" in Nichols Clarks, T. and Lipset, M. (eds.), The Breakdown of Class Politics, A Debate on Post-Industrial Stratification, Washington: Woodrow Wilson Press

Panbianco, A. (1988), Political Parties: Organization and Power, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Pierson, P. (2000), "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence and the Study of Politics", American Political Science Review, 94(2): 251-268

Pomper, G. (1988), Voters, Elections and Parties: The Practice of Democratic Theory, Oxford: Transaction Books

Prazmowska, A. (1995), "The New Right in Poland", in Cheles, L. Ferguson, R. et al. The Far Right in Western and Eastern Europe, London: Longman

Przeworski, A. and Sprague, J. (1986), Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Puhle, H. (2002), "Still the Age of Catch-allism? *Volksparteien* and *Parteienstaat* in Crisis and Re-equilibration" in Gunther, R. et al. (eds.), Political Parties, Old Concepts and New Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Ragin, C. (1987), *The Comparative Method, Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*, Berkeley: University of California Press

Rikker, W. (1986), The Art of Political Manipulation, New Haven: Yale University Press

Rokkan, S. (1967), "The Structuring of Mass Politics in the Smaller European Democracies: a Developmental Typology", Comparative Studies in Society and History, 10

Rokkan, S. and Lipset, M. (1967), "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction" in Rokkan, S. and Lipset, S. (eds.), Party Systems and Voter Alignments: A Cross National Perspective, New York: Collier Macmillan.

Sabbat-Swidlicka, A. (1992), "Poland's Two Camps Specify Terms for a Grand Coalition", RFE/RL Research Report, 1(18).

Sabbat-Swidlicka, A. (1992), "Poland: Weak Government, Fractious Sejm, Isolated President", RFE/RL Research Report, 1(15).

Sani, G. and Sartori, G. (1983), "Polarization, Fragmentation and Competition in Western Democracies" in Daalder, H. and Mair, P. (eds.), Western European Party Systems, Competition and Change, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Sharman, J. (2003), "Agrarian Politics in Eastern Europe in the Shadow of EU Accession", European Union Politics, 4(4): 447-471

Sartori, G. (1976), Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Sauerberg, S. (1992), "Parties, Voters and the EC", in Lyck (ed.), Denmark and the EC Membership Evaluated London: Pinter

Scharpf, F. (1996), "Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of European Welfare States" in Marks, G. et al. (eds.), Governance in the European Union Oxford: Oxford University Press

Schattschneider, E. (1964), Political Parties and Democracy, New York: Holt

Schickler, E. (2001), *Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

- Schopflin, G. (2000), Nations. Identity. Power, London: Hurst & Co
- Shields, J. (1996), "The French Gaullists" in Gaffney, J. Political Parties and the European Union. London: Routledge.
- Shepsle, K. (1986). "Institutional Equilibrium and Equilibrium Institutions" in Weisberg, H. (ed.), Political Science: The Science of Politics, New York: Agathon.
- Sitter, N. (2001), "The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: Is Euroscepticism a Government-Opposition Dynamic?", West European Politics, 24(4): 22-39
- Skotnicka-Illasiewicz, E. and Wesolowski, W. (1995), "The Significance of Preconceptions: Europe of Civil Societies and Europe of Nationalities", in Periwai, S. (ed.) Notions of Nationalism, Budapest: Central European University Press
- Skotnicka-Illasiewicz, E. (1998), "Integracja Europejska Jako Podziału Sceny Politycznej" (European Integration as a Dividing Axis in the Polish Political Elite), in Wesolowski, W. and Post, B. (eds.), Polityka i Sejm, Formowanie Się Elity Polityczne: Praca Zbiorowa, (Politics and Parliament, Formation of Political Elite, Collective Work), Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe
- Smith, G. (1988), "Between Left and Right: The Ambivalence of European Liberalism", in Kirchner, E. Liberal Parties in Western Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Staniszkis, J. (1991), The Dynamics of Breakthrough, Berkeley: University of California Press
- Staniszkis, J. (2000), The Emerging Enigma, Post-Communism Compared, Warsaw: ISP PAN
- Stark, D. and Bruszt, L. (1998), Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Stephens, J. Huber, E. and Ray, L. (1999), "The Welfare State in Hard Times", in Kitschelt, H. et al. (eds.) Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Strøm, K. Budge, I. and Laver, M. (1994), "Constraints on Cabinet Formation in Parliamentary Democracies", American Journal of Political Science, 38(2): 303-335

Szczerbiak, A. (1998), "Electoral Politics in Poland: The Parliamentary Elections of 1997", Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 14(3): 58-83

Szczerbiak, A. (2002), "The Polish Peasant Party: A Mass Party in PostCommunist Eastern Europe?", East European Politics and Societies, 15(3): 554-588

Szczerbiak, A. (2003), "After the Election, Nearing the Endgame: The Polish Euro-Debate in the Run-Up to the 2003 Accession Referendum", RIIA/OERN Research Paper, 7

Taagepera, R. and Shugart, M. (1989), Seats and Votes: the Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

Taagepera, R. and Shugardt, M. (1993), "Predicting the Number of Parties: a Quantitative Model of Duverger's Mechanical Effect", American Political Science Review, 87(2): 455-464

Taggart, P. (1987), "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems", European Journal of Political Research, 33(3): 363-388

Taggart, P. (2000), Populism, Buckingham: Open University Press

Taggart, P. and Szczerbiak, A. (2001), "Parties, Positions and Europe: Euroscepticism in the Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe", Paper Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Political Studies Association, 10-12 April 2001

Taggart, P. and Szczerbiak, A. (2001), "Crossing Europe: Patterns of Contemporary Party-Based Euroscepticism in EU Member States and the Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe", Paper Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association 2001.

Tismaneanu, V. (1992), Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel, London: Macmillan

Tóka, G. (1998), "Party Appeals and Voter Loyalties in New Democracies", Political Studies, 46(3): 589-610

Vago, R. (1991), "The East European Radical Right and European Integration", Paper to the Conference on the Radical Right in Western Europe, University of Minnesota

Verdery, K. (1999), "Civil Society or Nation? 'Europe' in the Symbolism of Romania's Postsocialist Politics", in Kennedy, M. and Suny, R. Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Walicki, A. (1994), Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame

Walicki, A. (2000) "The Troubling Legacy of Roman Dmowski", East European Politics and Societies, 14 (1): 12-46

Weber, M. (1956), Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Tübingen: Mohr

Wolinetz, S. (1979), "The Transformation of Western European Party Systems Revisited", West European Politics, 2(1): 4-28

Wolinetz, S. (2002), "Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies", in Gunther, R. et al. (eds.), Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Wuthnow, R. (1989), Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Zubek, V. (1993), "The Fragmentation of the Polish Political Party System", Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 26(1): 47-71